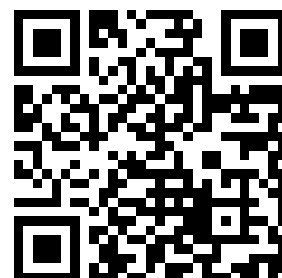

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Samuel R. Durand
850 Greenwich Place
Palo Alto, CA 94303

5/30/85

BISHOP JACKSON KEMPER AND THE
NORTHWEST MISSION

by

KATHARINE JEANEE GALLAGHER

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Wisconsin in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1915



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FEB 24 1939

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#4629407

This thesis was loaned to the author 19 July 1915.
After writing to her many times she sent the thesis which
is herewith bound. It is not the original copy which was
loaned to her and the correspondence is therefore, being
bound with the thesis. The original title page and approval
sheet was not returned,

30 November 1938



Sent white cd 6 Nov. 36
16 Nov. 36

6 October 1936.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Miss Gallagher:

We have recently had a request for the use of
your Wisconsin Ph. D. thesis. We find that this is charged
to you. Will you, therefore, kindly return it immediately
as the patron will call again soon.

Very truly yours,

Walter M. Smith, Librarian,
by

In charge Ph.D. theses

Anyone who reads any amount of criticism becomes mistrustful of all the familiar and general terms used. He hopes for a golden age when criticism will have the fine precision of a science. The terms the critics uses are, at their best, fluid, and the sense of them depends on the force with he impresses them with meaning. Hence, if I am going to talk about the development of a poetic genius I shall again have to be pardoned for an introduction of definition. The words, poetic genius, are uncertain ones. I have limited myself to using only Brooke's poetry in this discussion, using his prose works, which by themselves are an interesting field of reading, only as they throw light upon his poetic development. The word genius is more difficult. I suppose we may roughly say his bend toward making poetry, his gift of saying things in verse. I shall not argue here whether or not he had genius -- our conclusion can tell us more about that. In the discussion of the development of this gift somewhat towards a perfect expression of itself, I intend to keep in mind two things which seem to me to make up poetic genius; two things whose principal aspects may admit of a helpful classification.

The moment we begin to live, when we become aware of the life around us, or when we fall in love, or create something, or meet beauty face to face, at that moment, the imagination in us

Henry Vaughan 1665

O' tis an easy thing
 To write and sing,
 But to write true, unforged verse
 Is very hard.

8 April 1936.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Madam:

In July 1915 you borrowed the manuscript copy of your 1915 Wisconsin Ph. D. thesis. We have written to you a number of times but so far have failed to receive the manuscript. The last letter which we received from you stated that you were having it copied. This probably is completed by now.

We are preparing the manuscripts for the bindery now and wish to include this thesis with those to be sent. We shall, therefore, ask that you return the thesis to us immediately.

I am Thanking you for your cooperation in this matter,

Very truly yours,

Walter M. Smith, Librarian

by

In charge Ph.D. Theses

and 110, the first deals with Desire. The poet rails against it because it has ruined his peace of mind. The second sonnet is one of consolation in love. He bids farewell to love, telling himself that there is no use in pining away for that which can't be helped. From now on he is going to aspire to the accomplishment of higher things. The Latin epigraph, Splendidis Longum Valedico Nugis, gives the whole affair a finishing touch.

In this rather sketchy and somewhat disconnected manner I have attempted to give an idea of the narrative substance of the sequence, and also to indicate in a general way Sidney's method. There is no doubt that the story in general is based on certain autobiographical facts. But to what extent Sidney augmented these facts with fictional accoutrements to conform with a prevailing mode of continental poetry can only be conjectured.

Sidney Lee, as was pointed out, believes that aside from a skeletal factual background, most of the incidents were merely literary adaptations to a literary convention. John Drinkwater calls Stella an "ideal" who was invested with certain attributes of Penelope Rich because of the convenient coincidental fact of Sidney's having been in love with her. John Addington Symonds places more faith in the factual veracity of Astrophel and Stella. Somewhere between the two extremes the truth may be sought. It is true that there are decidedly several socially immoral implications and incidents in the sonnets which would seem to put a derogatory stamp on Sidney's character. Yet both his sister and his wife authorized a new publication of the sonnets in 1598. Sidney Lee's contention seems to bear weight from this standpoint. But one cannot get away from the feeling, as one reads the sonnets, that, despite the numerous

29 July 1935.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Miss Gallagher:

In the fall of 1932 we began correspondence with you concerning the return of the manuscript copy of your 1915 Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis. Your last letter, undated, but received and answered in February 1934, stated that a copy of the thesis was being made and would be sent to us as soon as completed.

One of our students is working on the Kemper manuscripts, and is most anxious to consult your thesis before completing his own. If your copy has been made, we should appreciate it very much if it could be returned for permanent preservation in our files.

Very truly yours,

esw

Librarian.

C

h B

5 February 1934.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Miss Gallagher:

In reply to your recent letter we would say that you may of course take all necessary time for completing the copy of your thesis. When it is ready, kindly ship it to us, and it will be bound for permanent preservation.

We did not mean to be over-urgent in our letter of 17 January. Our thought was that if you did not have the manuscript completed in the near future it might be as well to have it returned and bound without the missing pages.

Faithfully yours,

S:W

Librarian.

Ph.D

GOUCHER COLLEGE
BALTIMORE MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Smith
Bureau of Wisconsin University Library
Madison, Wisconsin.

My dear Mr Smith:

I am leaving a copy typed of my study from the manuscript

manuscripts:

As I am on the faculty of a small college and am not an

advanced institution with libraries and free to purchase my

correspondence for years, I, of course, do not still have the

the name of the clergyman to whom I sent the carbon

copy of your request and who has never returned it to

me! The fact that I did not receive the Wisconsin

Historical Society for having my conclusion does not prove

anything whatever! My failure to do so was due to two

things - first, I did not think to re-read this thing

on his return to me to see that it was in order and

second, it is not customary for beginners to return

institutions that are about to do them the favor of

frustrating their manuscripts, when I did discover it

I thought it would be an easy matter to re-write the

conclusion from my notes, especially as I had to add a

chapter to the manuscript and a new conclusion would

be necessary. In fact, I sent as far as to plan a new concluding

chapter and another chapter with the same.

It is only just, it seems to me, that you should be

conscious enough, however, to wait until the typist finishes

this. She is to begin immediately. I shall return this

to you when it has been copied:

Very sincerely yours

Katherine Greene Gallagher.

17 January 1934.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Miss Gallagher:

Your reply of 13 December 1933 to our letter of 9 November, regarding the original manuscript copy of your 1915 Ph.D. thesis, came duly to hand. Our record is that you withdrew the original manuscript copy of the thesis in July 1915 soon after you received your degree. This copy you apparently submitted to the Wisconsin Historical Society. The records of the Historical Society show that the thesis was returned to you by express in April 1918, as per Mr. Quaife's letter to you of 5 April 1918. You must have received it as the Historical Library has on file a letter from you to Mr. Quaife dated 30 April 1915. In this letter you do not mention not having received the complete manuscript.

As regards the carbon copy, this apparently has never been in our possession. ~~It was sent to some clergyman at our request. We probably referred to you a request, and you must have loaned the carbon copy directly. It would seem to me that you must have a record of the person to whom you loaned the carbon copy.~~ It was sent to some clergyman at our request. We probably referred to you a request, and you must have loaned the carbon copy directly. It would seem to me that you must have a record of the person to whom you loaned the carbon copy.

We hope that you will be able to forward the original copy of your thesis at an early date in order that it may be bound for permanent preservation. If at some time in the future you wish to have a copy of the thesis made, it would of course be loaned to you for that purpose.

Faithfully yours,

S:W

Librarian.

LM

Librarian

Faithfully yours,

No reply to this letter has ever reached us, nor has the manuscript been returned. Will you please give this matter your immediate attention and ship the thesis without further delay.

"According to the rules of the Graduate School, a manuscript may be loaned to an author for a period of six months in order to prepare it for publication. Will you therefore return your thesis to us at your earliest convenience. Please ship the package by prepaid express, not by parcel post, addressed to the Library of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin."

"In July 1915, you borrowed the manuscript copy of your 1915 Wisconsin Ph. D. thesis to prepare for publication. We have never received the printed copies of your thesis not has the manuscript been returned.

In a letter dated October 5, 1932, we wrote to you as follows:

Dear Madam:

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Md.

November 9, 1933.

October 5, 1932.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Madam:

In July 1915, you borrowed the manuscript copy of your 1915 Wisconsin Ph. D. thesis to prepare for publication.

We have never received the printed copies of your thesis, nor has the manuscript been returned.

According to the rules of the Graduate School a manuscript may be loaned to an author for a period of six months in order to prepare it for publication. Will you therefore return your thesis to us at your earliest convenience. Please ship the package by pre-paid express, not by parcel post, addressed to the Library of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Faithfully yours,

B

Librarian

*see to
this -
won't want it*

October 31, 1933.

Miss Katherine J. Gallagher,
Oconto Falls, Wisconsin.

Dear Madam:

In a letter dated October 5, 1933, we wrote to you
as follows:

"In July 1915, you borrowed the manuscript copy of
your 1915 Wisconsin Ph. D. thesis to prepare for publication.
We have never received the printed copies of your thesis, nor
has the manuscript been returned.

"According to the rules of the Graduate School a
manuscript may be loaned to an author for a period of six
months in order to prepare it for publication. Will you
therefore return your thesis to us at your earliest convenience.
Please ship the package by prepaid express, not by parcel post,
addressed to the Library of the University of Wisconsin, Madison,
Wisconsin."

No reply to this letter has ever reached us, nor
has the manuscript been returned. Will you please give this
matter your immediate attention and ship the thesis without
further delay.

Faithfully yours,

Librarian

B

Miss Katherine J. Gallagher

26 April 1929.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
Goucher College, ~~_____~~
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Miss Gallagher:

In 1915 you deposited in the library, as required by University regulations, the manuscript copy of your Ph.D. thesis on Bishop Jackson Kemper and the northwest mission.

On 19 July 1915, you borrowed this manuscript copy to prepare for publication for a period not to exceed six months. In December 1915, and again in June 1916, you were given an extension of time.

The thesis is still charged to you and we appear to have had no further word from you concerning the matter. Through an oversight, it has apparently never been recalled. Will you kindly return the manuscript copy of your thesis at your earliest convenience, shipping the package by express prepaid, addressing it to the Library of the University of Wisconsin.

At the present time, Mr. H. H. Lumpkin of Madison, the rector of Grace Church, is very anxious to consult your thesis in connection with a paper on Kemper which he is preparing for the Madison Literary Club. We trust that you may be able to return your thesis promptly so that it will reach us in time to be of service to Mr. Lumpkin.

Faithfully yours,

S:F

L / 30.

GOUCHER COLLEGE
BALTIMORE MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Mr Walter M. Smith
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wis.

My dear Mr Smith, -

I am sending you the best sort of substitute for my PhD thesis that I can collect. I shall send you the correct copy in the fall. I can not get hold of it until that time, as some time ago I lent it to a student who has not returned it to me and is now in Florida. I, myself, am leaving the country on May 23, before her return from Florida.

The material in the copy I am sending is complete except for a table of contents and a bibliography. Mr Paxson has the only table of contents there is, and the only copy of the bibliography is with the thesis itself. The form of this manuscript is dreadful but I believe it can be used.

I kept the manuscript on the request of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and during the change from Dr Swaife's direction I waited to see if they still had any desire to use it. As I heard no more

from them I gradually forgot about it.

I am very sorry to send such a manuscript as this. I shall send you the correct copy as soon as I can do so.

Very truly yours
Katharine Jeanne Gallagher

June 14, 1916.

Miss Katharine J. Gallagher,
C - 4 - Gilman Apts.,
N. Calvert & 31st Sts.,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Miss Gallagher:

Your letter of June 9, 1916, regarding your thesis, has been received. As you are planning to print your thesis as soon as it is recopied, it would seem footless to ask you to return it to the library. Hence we are renewing it for a further period of six months.

Under the rules of the University, the bursar is not authorized to make refund of the guaranty deposit of \$50.00 until he receives a statement from the librarian that the candidate has complied with the printing requirements of the University. We of course cannot send the bursar this statement until the printed copies reach the library. As soon as you have printed your thesis, send the required number of printed copies to the library. On receipt of same, we will at once instruct the bursar to make refund to you of your guaranty deposit.

In my letter to you of December 24, 1915, I inclosed a clipping from the University catalogue, giving the regulations regarding printing of theses which was in force when you took your degree.

Faithfully yours,

Miss Gallagher is authorized
to withdraw her Ph.D. thesis from
the University Library for a period
not to exceed six months.

June 14, 1915

John B. Countock
Dear

GOUCHER COLLEGE
BALTIMORE MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

was thinking of publishing it. It was the final
winding up of the Northwest mission.
really fared very badly at the hands
the Wisconsin Historical Society and
put together, and tho' I know the re
about your right to the manuscript
be very glad if you could give me
in finding the carbon copy since
sent at your request, or could wa
could have this re-typed before I

m

Miss Gallagher is authorized
to withdraw her Ph.D. thesis from
the University Library for a period
not to exceed six months.

June 14, 1915

Geo Bountack
Dear

GOUCHER COLLEGE
BALTIMORE MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

no thinking of publishing it. It was the final
winding up of the Northwest mission. I have
really fared very badly at the hands of
the Wisconsin Historical Society and the library
put together, and tho' I know the regulation
about your right to the manuscript, I should
be very glad if you could give me some help
in finding the carbon copy since it was
sent at your request, or could wait until I
could have this re-typed before I send it

back to you.

Very truly yours,
Katharine Jeanne Gallagher
Goucher College
Baltimore, Md.

December 13-1933.

Miss L Gallagher is authorized
to withdraw her Ph.D. thesis from
the University Library for a period
not to exceed six months.

June 14, 1915.

Geo Bountack
Dean

Parts missing in this rough copy

Table of contents (Mr Paxson has the only
copy of that.)

Introduction called Consideration of
ways + means (a discussion of
Kempfer's Mass + main divisions
of Kempfer's life covered by these)

Bibliography.

Chapter 1.

The Formation of the Northwest Mission.

The importance of the west as a missionary field was realized by the various religious denominations of the United States from the beginning of the national period. Indeed, the filling up of the back country and the streams of emigration into the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys became phenomena too evident to be ignored. The Protestant Episcopal Church, however, began its independent existence¹ in 1789 with an external organization little adapted to propaganda, and an internal listlessness scarcely likely to catch the thrill of missionary enthusiasm. The Church was forced, moreover, to maintain itself against the patriotic and sectarian prejudices of the American religious world by which it was stigmatized as British and aristocratic in sympathy and absolutely lacking in zeal. These charges were given color by the facts of Colonial and Revolutionary history and were not without foundation during the first two decades of church existence².

Even within the borders of the original thirteen states the church was scarcely able to maintain its clergy or its services. Bishop Provost of New York, a zealous patriot, but at best a lukewarm churchman, frankly expressed his opinion that the church must die out with the old Colonial families.¹ In Virginia the sale

1. Tiffany, Charles, History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. p. 39.

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1. Tiffany, Charles, History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. p. 39.

of church glebes and plate for the benefit of the state in 1802, had left the parishes spiritless and impoverished. From 1805 to 1812, that diocese held no convention and upon the death of its first bishop in 1812, only seven clergymen and eighteen laymen could be assembled to elect a successor. The Church in Pennsylvania consisted for the most part of the parishes in and about Philadelphia. The personality of Bishop William White made it especially respected, although the customary charges were not lacking against the communion as a whole, and the services were no more popular than elsewhere. Maryland had a bishop of its own and showed symptoms of real life, but nearly one half of its parishes remained vacant. New Jersey and Delaware, in spite of a feeble effort in the former state in 1796, were without Episcopal direction, and Delaware was unable to support a bishop before 1841.

Conditions were no different farther to the south. North Carolina was not able to effect an organization before 1817. An attempt in this direction which accomplished nothing had been made in 1793 and 1794. South Carolina which had been in the colonial church settlement entered the church union in 1789 only upon condition that no bishop should be appointed for the diocese by any power outside of the state. Rev. Robert Smith was elected in 1795 but no confirmations or conventions were held from 1798 to 1804. Bishop Smith died in 1801 and a successor was not appointed until 1812. In Georgia, as elsewhere, the Episcopal Church was left prostrate by the war. Neighboring bishops kept a feeble flame of life in its few scattered parishes, but there was not sufficient strength to warrant

2. diocesan organization before 1823. New England, however, showed some vitality. Outside of Connecticut to be sure, the church consisted of a few old wealthy congregations, such as Trinity, Boston, St. John's, Providence, and Trinity, Newport. For the rest it was feeble or dead; but Connecticut had formed the first completely organized diocese in the country, and here the disciplinarian Bishop, Samuel Seabury, maintained strict order.

With such adverse conditions confronting the organized dioceses it was scarcely likely that the interests of the unorganized districts should weigh heavily in the estimation of the church as a whole. Beyond the pale of the church union lay the entire field of the great west, which was steadily filling with settlers among whom the other denominations were sending out eager

3. and earnest workers. Only here and there was an Episcopal missionary to be found. The Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had stationed a chaplain at Detroit in 1770, and until

2. Perry, William Stevens, History of the American Episcopal Church. Vol.I, p.204 sq.

3. The Presbyterians formed the first nationally organized denomination and members of this church were among the first settlers of the back country. The church policy was to establish schools immediately, and supply them with teacher-missionaries under the central board. The Baptist missionaries reached the Southwest between 1770 and 1780. They established the Holston Association in 1788. The Methodist had reached the Holston country by 1783 and were sufficiently rapid in their progress to have organized circuits there and in the Kentucky country by 1787. After the organization of the Methodists in 1785, rivalries between the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries in the West give much liveliness to Western Missionary history.

the outbreak of the second war with England efforts were made
at that station to keep up the services.^{4.} At the opening of
the Kentucky country by the Henderson Company, an Episcopal
Clergyman from Harrodsville had offered prayer before the first
legislative assembly, which met at Boonsboro, May 23, 1775, and
the church had taken root in that frontier community, ^{but} although
it developed so slowly that it was not strong enough for diocesan
organization before 1829.^{5,}

Episcopalians were among the pioneers who were settling
in Western New York, Western Pennsylvania, the back country of
Virginia and the Carolinas, and even farther to the West. Many
who had been born and educated in the church, however, and were
nominal Episcopalians had no desire to remain within the com-
munion, and it is impossible to estimate the volume of actual
Episcopal emigration from statements made at the time. It is
probable, nevertheless, that the numbers were sufficient to have
warranted some effort on the part of the church. Flutters of
missionary responsibility agitated the triennial church councils
as Episcopalians contemplated the wide field for labor. In 1792,
the General Convention passed a resolution urging parochial con-
tributions for the support of missionaries in the Western Country,
and appointing the Bishop and Standing Committee of Pennsylvania-

4. Perry, W. S. History of American Episcopal Churchh.
I. p. 219.

5. Perry, W. S. History of American Episcopal Church.
I. p.197,201.

which had a significant frontier of its own- to administer the
 6. fund. This was not of sufficient importance, however, to receive mention in the memoirs of Bishop White as part of the legislation of the convention, and in 1795, all missionary work was relegated to the state conventions, which generally confined themselves to sporadic efforts within their own borders.

The Diocesan Society of New York was among the first and
 7. most active of the state organizations, finding an ample field for all the efforts it was able to put forth upon its own wide-spread frontiers. It was willing, nevertheless, to assist Connecticut and Pennsylvania in their scattered efforts in the Western Reserve. In 1808, the General Convention again considered the question of "the Western brethren." An Episcopal Clergyman in western Virginia was besieging the bishops and clergy of the church with pleas for aid. He was picturing to them the destitution of Episcopalians in the West. In 1808, the church was moved by these and similar appeals to propose the appointment of a missionary
 8. bishop. Nothing was done, however, to carry out the suggestion.

6. Perry, William Stevens, A Half Century of Legislation of the American Church. Vol.I. Conv. of 1792.

7. Chase, Philander, Reminiscences of Bishop Chase. p. 27.

8. Perry, W. S., Half Century of Legislation, Vol.I., Conv. of 1808, Conv. of 1811; and McConnell, S.C., History of The American Episcopal Church, p. 300. Bishop White of Pennsylvania explained the reasons for inactivity. He said the difficulties were, first, those of electing a suitable man, and, second, of supporting him. White, W., Memoirs of the Church, p. 249.

In August, 1812, the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania was organized with Rev. Jackson Kemper, the young assistant rector of the three parishes of Philadelphia, as one of its founders and prime movers. Jackson Kemper was a deacon twenty-three years of age, who had been ordained by Bishop White in the preceding year, and was full of a youthful ardor for the missionary cause. He brought to his labors in the Pennsylvania society fervent devotion to the church, an intuitive sympathy for men in every walk of life, and diffident sociability, which never failed to win him confidence and friendship. His work among the westerners about Pittsburg in 1812 marked the beginning of a missionary career of almost sixty years duration, and the qualities of mind and temperament, which shaped his later missionary policies, were those made evident during his first missionary journeys to the wilds of Western Pennsylvania in behalf of the Diocesan Society.

The stimulating personality of Bishop Hobart of New York, who began his term of service in 1811, stirred the New York Society into fresh activity. Under its auspices Philander Chase was sent in 1817 to the western Reserve. The missionary reached his destination by stage to Batavia and by gratuitous sleigh rides with chance travelers from Batavia to Conneaut Creek. The Oneida Indians were also a special charge to the Bishop of New York. ^{had} He visited them while they were within the state, confirming eighty-

9. Chase, P. Reminiscences, p. 131.

nine of their number in 1818, and appointing Rev. Eleazer Williams, later of doubtful international renown, to minister to their needs. After the removal of the Indians to the shores of Lake Michigan, Bishop Hobart made the journey to visit them at Green Bay in 1827, stopping at Detroit to lay the corner stone of the first Episcopal Church Edifice in Michigan territory.

This decentralized activity at various points of special interest was totally inadequate to the needs of the West. The indefatigable Methodist circuit rider was in the saddle from week end to week end, always at the heels or in the company of the advancing frontiersman. The missionary school teacher dispatched by the Presbyterians was also in the van. The Baptists of various complexions were multiplying their converts. Even the Romanists worked with zeal, although the great period of their advance was not the early decades of the century. But the Episcopal Church sent out only a handful of workers to their scattered mission stations from the Gulf to the Northern Lakes, and it was but natural that many an Episcopalian pioneer was weaned away from his allegiance to a church whose service it was impossible to maintain without a clerical oversight not forthcoming.

The church meanwhile had responded to the vitilizing influence
 10.
 of such men as Bishop Hobart of New York, Bishop Griswold of the

11. Eastern Diocese, and Bishop Richard Channing Moore of Virginia, 12.
and the missionary interest was growing throughout the communion.

The continued efforts of the Pennsylvania Society served to stimulate this spirit. In 1814, and again in 1816, Jackson Kemper had undertaken missionary tours through western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and into the Connecticut Reserve. 13.

Even bad roads and the continuous rain of a depressingly wet season in 1816, could not deprive the West of its attraction for him. "For a month I was traveling through a country nearly inundated with rain", he wrote, "The people were poor, the accommodations bad, sometimes I was benighted and sometimes exposed to dangers. To all these things it appeared to me I would soon become reconciled." 14.

During this journey he baptized 125 children and adults, and helped to form congregations among the "intelligent Yankees" at Canfield, Boardman, and Poland in Ohio. His labors assisted in preparing the way for the more strenuous and continuous

13. Account of Journey, 1812, in Wis. Mss. 30.30. That of 1814 in 4.G.23,24,33,38. The Journey of 1816 is referred to in Wis. Mss. ~~4.G.44~~ and White, Greenough, An Apostle of the Western Church, p.36 sq.

14. White, Greenough, Ibid. p. 36

exertions of Mr. Chase in the following year. By the end of 1817, Ohio had organized itself into a diocese, and in 1818, five clergy and five laymen met at Columbus and elected Rev. Philander Chase as their bishop. He was consecrated after some delay on February 1, 1819. It was felt by the church at large that this election would provide the West with its long desired Episcopate, but the pioneer western bishop, who rode back to his see on horseback from his consecration in Philadelphia, was amply occupied with the cares of his own poorly equipped and financially unsupported diocese. and was quite unable to extend his oversight beyond his own jurisdiction.

The needs of the West thus remained unsatisfied. Jackson Kemper's missionary reports, which circulated from 1812 to 1819, made these needs clearly apparent, and his influence was ably supported by the efforts of Rev. William Muhlenberg and Boyd of New York City. The insistence of these co-workers resulted in the organization of a general Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society at Philadelphia on November 21, 1821. Membership in the society was limited to those who had subscribed to its support, and its operation was inefficient from the outset, but its formation

15. It was a year before the diocese was able to make any contribution for the support of the Episcopate, and his constant travel on horseback about the state was at his own expense. Appeals to the diocese were of no avail. Perry, W. S., History of American Episcopal Church, I, p.22.

16. All who would contribute \$3.00 annually or \$30.00 at any one time were eligible to the Missionary Society. It was managed by 24 directors, who appointed stations, elected missionaries and fixed the salaries. It was inadequately supported by contributions. Caswall, Henry, America and the American Church

was a distinct achievement for the cause of missions. Auxiliary societies sprang up in every organized diocese and became affiliated with the central organization. The work upon the frontiers was pushed with greater earnestness. Louisiana, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois each received at least one clergyman. It was planned that such an isolated laborer should remain for a time at some strategic point, attempting to extend his services over the almost impossible distances within the state in which he found himself. Thus a pitifully small supply of workers sought to reach the scattered members of the church; but the interest in the society was not commensurate with the difficulties of the task and the work in the West degenerated into fleeting tours and irregular services at the important urban centers.

A sense of this inefficiency was tardily taking hold of the Episcopal Church. The continued interest of a few in the cause of missions began to be shared by the entire communion. The nature of the frontier, meanwhile, was changing with the improvement of facilities of transportation. So that the desire and the ready opportunity to prosecute a lively missionary policy were developing simultaneously. By 1834, the great western movement of the thirties was well underway and the need of a strong missionary program was obvious to all.

Jackson Kemper had left Philadelphia in 1831 and had taken a charge at Norwalk, Connecticut, but his interest in the westward expansion of the church had not flagged. He had deplored the inadequacy of the missionary society, but he believed as did

the other founders of that organization, that the spirit of the church was unpropitious for a more strenuous program than the society proposed. Something at least had been accomplished by the society in the western domestic field, while the Indians, who were considering to be within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Foreign Missions, had received distinct attention,

The Indians of the Northwest were brought prominently before the popular mind by the events of the early thirties. The Diocese of New York, however, needed no revival of interest. It had retained an indirect oversight over the Oneida, when they had been removed by the Government to the shores of Lake Michigan. The General Society had stationed Rev. Norton Nash at Green Bay, in the present state of Wisconsin, and he had been replaced by Richard Cadle in 1832, so that the Green Bay Indians had not been without oversight; but the affairs at the mission were confused by the proposed opening of Indian lands after the Black Hawk War. General difficulties of administration also directed the special attention of the society to the missions in the Wisconsin district. In 1834, a commission was appointed to investigate conditions at the Green Bay mission, and the Bishop of New York requested the commissioners to extend their oversight to the Oneida at Duck
17.
Creek. The appointment of Jackson Kemper to this commission

17. Journal of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, 1834. p. 21.

was but the natural consequence of his prominence in the cause. With Rev. James Milnor of New York he was instructed to inspect and report on the progress of the Indian missions.

The wave of missionary activity was nearing its height in 1834. The nature of the church federation had permitted growth only by the admission of dioceses already organized. This made necessary the refusal of recognition to any districts lacking sufficient strength for diocesan organization. The extension of the Episcopal Church in the West was thus rendered particularly arduous. But in spite of this difficulty, dioceses had taken form in the western districts, dioceses weak and dependent, to be sure, but possessing the number of officiating presbyters necessary for canonical organization. Georgia had been thus organized in 1823 and Kentucky in 1829. The diocese of Tennessee, which was largely the result of one missionary's strenuous labor,^{18.} was strong enough for recognition in 1830, and the ten missionary stations of Michigan, including the Indian missions on the western shore of the lake were admitted as a diocese in 1832. Louisiana, which consisted of little more than the parishes at New Orleans, attempted to present itself for admission in 1835. There was a rumor

18. James Harvey Otey, The first Episcopal Clergyman of Tennessee, came as a teacher in 1827 and by his labors almost without cessation he succeeded in establishing seven little stations where Episcopal services were held. In 1830 the church had fifty communicants in the state. Moll, Arthur Howard, History of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee, p. 69 sq.

afloat that Louisiana desired to elect Dr. Kemper for its bishop, but the popular gifts of Dr. Francis Hawks of New York, who visited the South in 1834, took New Orleans by storm and it was definitely announced in 1835 that the church in Louisiana would nominate Dr. Hawks for the Episcopate if it was admitted into the Church federation. Indiana was in a similar position. A missionary resided at Indianapolis, and Episcopalians were scattered about the state at Shelbyville, Madison, Evansville, and the Wabash river towns. Without recognition from the church, these were cut off from the communion, and to avoid this, they presented themselves for admission in 1835. At this date, Illinois could actually assemble the requisite number of clergy and parishes and was likewise petitioning for recognition. It had even held its Episcopal election, selecting the veteran warrior, Bishop Chase, whose turbulent career in Ohio¹⁹ had resulted in his withdrawal from that state, so that in 1835, he was residing without a charge on a farm near Gideon, Michigan.

19. A difference of opinion in regard to the relations of the Bishop to Kenyon College, which he had founded in 1825, led to attacks upon the administration of College funds, and after his vindication from the charges, Bishop Chase indignantly severed relations with his diocese. Bishop McIlvane, who succeeded him, had similar though less serious experiences in reference to the College administration.

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This development had been effected during the life of the first Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society and the visible progress in the West served to stimulate the growing interest in missions. The missionary spirit was becoming general, and the necessity of rejecting the churches in Indiana and Louisiana was a distinct blow to missionary enthusiasts. The possibility of this necessity of shutting off applicants from union with the church had been at the basis of the missionary demands since 1808. A committee under the leadership of Bishops Doane of New Jersey and Morilvaine of Ohio had been working upon the solution of this problem, and under their inspiration the theory of the missionary church had evolved. 20.

According to this theory the Missionary Society was to include all the baptized members of the Episcopal Church. These were required to contribute regularly for the benefit of domestic and foreign missions. With this support the church could reach out by means of missionary bishops and comprehend those sections not yet capable of organization, and could thus bring all Episcopalians into the church union. This conception transformed the Episcopal Church

20. Increasing interest may be seen from the income of the society. In 1829 donations amounted to \$1500. In 1832 they had increased to \$16,443; 1833 to \$19,957; 1834 to \$26,007; 1835 to \$27,621; in 1836 donations reached \$55,000 and in 1837 dropped to \$48,674. Caswall, H., *America and the American Church*. p.259.

from a federation to an organism. It was no longer to grow by accretion solely, but by generation as well.

The same convention, therefore, which refused admission to Indiana and Louisiana was able to pass the resolution that "The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies may from time to time upon the nomination of the House of Bishops elect a suitable person or persons to be a Bishop or Bishops of this church to exercise Episcopal functions in states and territories not yet organized²¹ as Dioceses."

The same provision was made for foreign territories. The convention proceeded immediately to the election of missionary bishops. Two were seen to be necessary at the time, one to include within his jurisdiction the parishes about New Orleans and another to minister to the Episcopalians in Indiana. With this in view, two jurisdictions were formed, Arkansas and Louisiana in the south, and Missouri and Indiana in the northwest. Rev. Francis L. Hawks was selected for the southern Episcopate and Rev. Jackson Kemper was unanimously elected for the northwest mission.

Dr. Kemper was not unprepared for a special call to missionary labors. His constant interest and devotion, united with the essential gift of arousing interest in those best suited to promote the missionary cause made him an ideal candidate for such an office. His personal qualities also fitted him for such a task. His tact and consideration were certain to insure a kind reception for his message, and his personal diffidence was a characteristic tending

21. Journal of General Convention, 1835, p. 145.

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to win affection and to soften animosities. Even his private sorrows had fitted him more completely for the homeless life of a western missionary. His first wife, ~~Miss~~ Jerusha Lyman of Philadelphia, had died in 1819 three years after their marriage. Within a few years he was married to ~~Miss~~ Anne Relf, who was also of a Philadelphia family. The ties formed by this marriage could not have given place to the sacrifice and freedom of a frontier life, but Mrs. Kemper had died at Norwalk in 1832, leaving three little children. Elizabeth, the eldest was but ten years of age and Samuel and Lewis were respectively five and two. The Relf family was substantially connected in Philadelphia and in merchantile interests throughout the country, and Mrs. Relf was able to devote herself to her daughter's children, leaving their father free to serve the church with his time, and relieving him of much of the family support, which would have made the acceptance of the poorly paid western Episcopate very difficult. Although his temperament and experience had fitted him for a missionary career, for which his mind was not ^{well} prepared, the sudden elevation to the missionary Episcopate in 1835 was quite unexpected, and he scarcely appreciated the nature of the task before him. His freedom from domestic burdens by the kind co-operation of Mrs. Kemper's mother made the unanimous call of the church appear a duty not to be evaded. He did not realize, however, the extent of the separation which his duties would entail. It had been his original intent to remove his family to St. Louis, which

was to be his headquarters. He fondly hoped to be able to spend several months of each year with his children in their new home.²² The final separation from her family and friends, however, was too great a strain for Mrs. Relf and she persuaded the Bishop to leave the children in Philadelphia under her care. It was, therefore, with the expectation of a homeless, wandering life that Bishop Kemper set forth from Philadelphia in November, 1835, for his diocese of Missouri, Indiana, and the great Northwest.

The character and needs of the West were well known by 1835. The states of Ohio and Kentucky had ceased to be typically western, and the most thickly settled areas in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were fast outgrowing frontier conditions. The growth of a fixed population with a relative conservatism in ideas was advantageous although not absolutely necessary for the progress of the Episcopal Church, and such a condition was already developing in the older communities of Bishop Kemper's new field.

The population of Indiana numbered about 600,000 in 1835,²³ the most thickly settled regions being in the neighborhood of the thriving town of Richmond and the Whitewater valley, a section which was united economically to Ohio rather than Indiana. The north bank of the Ohio and the Wabash valley had been more attractive to

22. Bishop Kemper to Kemper. Sept. 5, 1835 Wis. Mass 14 122
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23. Peck, J.M. New Guide for Emigrants to the West, 1837 p.17. The estimate is based upon census figures of 1830, and an approximation largely based upon the numbers of land claims entered since that date.

the headwaters, the family moved to be able to spend
the of each year with the children in their new home.
In 1831, from her family and friends, however, was too
in for her. Well and she persuaded the Bishop to leave
in Philadelphia later her name. It was, therefore, with
tion of a house, named after the Bishop's father
the Philadelphia in November, 1835, for the Bishop of
Indiana, and the great house.

The migration and change of the West were well known
states of the West had ceased to be typically
the great things which were in Indiana, Illinois, and
the last years of the frontier age. The growth of a
tion with a relative conservatism. It was an evolu-
tion not absolutely necessary for the progress of the
which was a condition already existing in
condition of the West's new life.

The migration to Indiana was not a new thing in 1835.
Indiana had been a part of the United States of 1800.
The migration to the West was not a new thing in 1835.
The migration to the West was not a new thing in 1835.
The migration to the West was not a new thing in 1835.

12. The migration to the West was not a new thing in 1835.
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The migration to the West was not a new thing in 1835.

early settlement than the remainder of the state; but no portion of Indiana, save the Whitewater valley, had attained a population^{24.} more dense than forty-five inhabitants to the square mile. The rising little river towns were supported largely by agricultural commerce, the volume of which depended upon their availability to the back country. Every suggested improvement in transportation caused a change in the balance of town prospects, and, as the final course of industrial progress was still in suspense in the thirties, the hope of economic dominance for each particular town influenced the hopes and activities of its citizens, who had staked their investments upon the chance of town prosperity. The desire to see these investments appreciate was at the bottom of the noisy clamor for internal improvements and much of the ostensibly pious yearning for churches, schools, and general municipal advantages.

Indiana was still predominantly agricultural with some "manufactories" depending for the most part directly upon the products of the soil. The business district of each town of importance contained a few stores and "groceries" along the main street, generally including also a "counting house" united with a real estate or mercantile office, some fitting domicile for the weekly newspaper, perhaps a couple of churches, and a hotel. The general mercantile business was often increased by the existance of special industries, such as a distillery, a cotton manufactory, a tannery, or an especially successful grist or^{25.} saw mill. The cotton factory at Vincennes employed some fifty laborers,

24. U.S. Census, Statistical Atlas, 1890.
Maps for 1830, 1840.

25. Kemper Ms. Diary, Dec.10, 1835.

and at Tooy an establishment for the manufacture of pottery was extending its plans and activities, having imported English and Irish laborers to carry on the work.^{26.} These and other similar ventures, however, did not effect the general trend of industrial interest which lay along the lines of farming and stock raising, and commerce in grains, hogs, lard, and bacon to St. Louis and New Orleans, or to Cincinnati and the east.

This river trade was often of considerable volume. Madison, which contained a population of about 2,000, was an important commercial centre. Six steamboats daily were reported to have stopp~~ed~~^{27.} at its wharves in 1836, and daily packets plied between the town and Louisville, Kentucky. As the river terminus of the atrocious Indianapolis-Madison stage line, Madison occupied a prominent position in regard to the interior of the state, although an account of the usual condition of the road, freight of any bulk was taken quite as frequently to Cincinnati from Indianapolis as to the nearer port. Plans for a railroad connecting Indianapolis and Madison were already in progress in 1835, and the price of land along the projected route was rising rapidly in anticipation.^{28.} New Albany had likewise attained importance and counted a population of some 2,500; while Evansville situated just east of

26. Ibid, June 24, 1837.

27. Caswall, H., American Church, 206.

28. Charlotte F. Leonard to Ep. Kemper, Jan. 26, 1836. Wis. Ms. 15689.

the juncture of the Wabash and Ohio rivers was the largest town in the state. Its population numbered something between three and four thousand.

The area northwest of Evansville had been open to settlement since 1804 and most of the land had been taken up and improved although no great strides had been made in its development. Land in the vicinity was fertile but fairly expensive. It was utilized almost exclusively for corn which was easily shipped or retained at the local distilleries.

The Wabash towns were developing steadily because of the river trade and the prospect of the speedy completion of the Wabash-Erie canal. Vincennes, Crawfordsville, and Fort Wayne were also the centres of government land districts, and this region was receiving some of the heaviest immigration of the early thirties. The Indian titles to the northeastern section of the state had been extinguished in 1828, but the Pottawotowie had not yet been removed, by 1835, from their lands in the northwestern corner. The Miami also retained land directly south of the Wabash river. A grant

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29. Land was estimated by Prince Maximilian in 1832 as being about \$15 an acre, while at a distance from the towns, government land could still be obtained at the regular price of \$1.25 per acre. The best soil was said to produce 100 bushels to the acre. Raising of corn was the chief occupation and the raising of swine was next in importance.

Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in R.G.Thwaites *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXII, XXIII, XXIV. Vol. I, P.170 sq.

through the northern part of this tract had been obtained, however, for the projected canal. Indian proprietorship had checked the general settlement of northern Indiana, but the individual squatter had not been deterred by such a detail, and the Indian lands in the northwest were dotted with the claims of the white pioneers. The government title, moreover, had been cleared sufficiently by 1835, to permit general settlement, and more land was sold at the government office in Crawfordsville between 1830 and 1835 than at any office in the northwest. The sales at Indianapolis and Vincennes during this same period also exceeded those of other offices with the exception of the Detroit district. It was necessary to form a new district about Laport, Indiana, in 1835 to take charge of the entire in the extreme north of the state where the straggling new town of Michigan City had already evolved out of the forest and the thriving villages in the St. Joseph's valley were located.

The inhabitants of the state were largely of southern origin. Even about Laport the squatters were predominantly southern. Settlers from New York, New England, and Ohio were becoming noticeable, however, at the time of the opening of the Wabash-Erie canal. The

30. Martineau, Harriet, *Society in America*, V.I, p.185.

31. Reports of Commissioner of General Land Office in Annual Reports of Secretary of the Treasury, Senate Executive Documents, 1830-1835.

32. Martineau, Harriet, *Society in America*, I, 185, sq.

towns of Plymouth and Rochester, founded by New Englanders and New Yorkers, sprung up in 1835 and 1836; and numerous Yankee villages developing north of the national road attested by their form their direct or indirect ^{New England} antecedents. A traveler reported in 1836 that the ambitious Yankee began immediately to pay attention to gardens and to cleanliness, and that northern Indiana was fortunate in receiving increasing New England immigration.

Missouri, the second division of Bishop Kemper's field, was less thickly settled than Indiana. Its population was estimated at the time at 83,000. The settled regions lay in a fringe about the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. The heaviest volume of immigration was directed toward the northeast, about the town of Palmyra. St. Louis, the metropolis of the West, and next to New Orleans the most important market for the western trade, was the dispensing centre or point of reshipment for almost the entire state. It had attained a cosmopolitan population of over 6,000, composed for the most part of French, Irish, Germans, and Americans, and it was growing continually by means of foreign as well

33. Kemper, Ms. Diary, Aug. 9, 1837.

34. Peck, New Guide for Emigrants, p.17.

35. Ferrall, S.A., A Ramble of Six Thousand Miles through the United States of America. p.126. This is merely a traveler's estimate.

as domestic immigration. The diversified interests of the city placed it far beyond the surrounding communities in development.

Throughout Missouri generally the towns differed little from those of Indiana. Bishop Kemper acknowledged in 1836 that there was very little, if anything, in the town life, which would convince one he was in a slave state. ^{36.} The slaves were more numerous and less obsequious than the free blacks in other sections, but the towns of Missouri were similar in interests and practices to those of the neighboring free states. Boonville, which gave promise by its location and advantages of becoming the second town in the state, was situated about two hundred miles above St. Louis on the Missouri river. It contained only about 900 inhabitants but they were progressive, intelligent, and in good circumstances. It could boast of a court house, a considerable number of brick buildings and stores, among which were a book store and an apothecary shop. Besides these, it had a steam grist mill and a tannery. It was a ^{37.} natural port for a thickly settled and healthy country. Farther up the river was the Capital of the State, Jefferson City, an unpaved rambling village. Above Jefferson City the country became more wild and uninhabited until the western boundary was approached. Near the state line were clusters of settlements, supported largely by

36. Bp. Kemper to Horace Stringfellow, May 6, 1836. Letter Bk.II, Kemper Mss.

37. Kemper, Ms. Diary, April 18, 1836.

the Santa Fe trade, the fur trade, and the raising of hogs for the market at New Orleans.

The district about Palmyra was attracting attention in 1836, and was filling rapidly with settlers from Virginia and Kentucky. Palmyra itself was a delapidated village with some 1 100 inhabitants. It had twice been swept by cholera and its buildings^{38.} and even its homes were generally run down and uncomfortable.

The neighboring town of Hannibal was in somewhat better repair but was not attractive. In this vicinity one of the most daring speculation schemes was in progress. Discussion and investigation from St. Louis and elsewhere could not make it clear whether or not the Marion City scheme which aimed at the construction of a Western Venice near Palmyra with unbounded advantages for investors was^{39.} a fraudulent enterprise on the part of the proprietors. Paper towns and land scandals were inevitable in a period of speculative town construction and Missouri like the rest of the West was agog

38. Kemper, Ms. Diary, March 25, 1836. A visit at the residence of one of the leading physicians will illustrate this point. The host was a man of means and some prominence in the state. "The family in a common log hut of two rooms with some out houses one of the rooms was given to me to sleep in, continually intruded upon by the little black servants before I went to bed and after, to get things--suspect that some of the young ladies had to go by a ladder from my room to the cockloft where the boards were not close and where there was no window to sleep."

39. Kemper, Ms. Diary, April 27, 1836.

with speculation.

The towns contained little that was distinctive, but it was the economy of the self sufficient plantations which marked Missouri as southern. The buildings on these plantations consisted frequently of nothing more than a log house and out cabins for the negroes, the house being built in the typical frontier style with two rectangular enclosed chambers and an open space between, protected by the same floor and roof which united the apartments. Hemp and tobacco were the chief products of these plantation farms, together with sufficient cotton for consumption and for some exportation. The raising of hogs, however, was becoming the most profitable single occupation.^{40.} The animals were frequently branded like cattle and turned loose to range and support themselves on the country, and only rounded up for exportation.^{41.} According to another method, they were fattened by turning them into the rye fields when these were nearly ripe and later into the corn. The production of hogs, however, had not yet displaced more direct agricultural activities. The relatively large plantations lay for the most part on the outskirts of settlement.^{42.} These were connected to the nearest towns by natural roads often

40. Kemper, Ms. Diary, April 22, 1836.

41. Maximilian, Travels, Vol. II. p. 185.

42. Peyton, John, L., Over the Alleghanies and across the Prairies. p. 290.

in an almost impassable condition. Such settlement became thinner and more scattered until it merged into the native wilderness in the north and southwestern sections of the state. These states comprised the missionary field in 1835. Almost every Christian denomination had established itself within this missionary jurisdiction and each was seeking further converts. There was scarcely a town which was not preoccupied by numerous denominations whose methods of approach were more closely in harmony with the general temper of the West than were those of the Episcopal Church. A missionary from Illinois wrote in 1838, "I have never been in a place where the public mind has been in such a continued succession of excitements on some subject or other. The excitement on the subject of religion has taken the place of the excitement on the subject of abolitionism."^{43.}

At most points in the west, the Methodists and Presbyterians were firmly entrenched. The Baptists, Christians and Lutherans were also widely distributed. The Baptists were very numerous, but their continued schisms rendered them comparatively unimportant. "Now is the time to occupy Indiana," it was declared in 1838, "we are it is true twenty years behind the Methodists,^{44.} and ten years behind the Presbyterians." From Richmond, Indiana,^{45.} a missionary wrote in 1839, "The Quakers form $\frac{1}{2}$ of this population."

43. Wis. Mes. 18G106

44. General Convention. 1838, p. 68.

45. Spirit of Missions, 4, p. 164 (1839).

In 1843, the same clergyman declared, "Stationed among a sect whose dislike for the hireling ministry is proverbial popular prejudice is set against me. At the same time the influence of the Owens about New Harmony, Indiana, attracted settlers with infidel tendencies to that location. Vincennes, Bishop Kemper declared, commanded one of the most interesting and important sections of the west. According to the description of an Episcopalian Missionary, "It is a hotbed of Romanism in one extreme and a Babel of sectarian confusion in the other."^{46.}
A Roman Catholic college was incorporated in Vincennes, in 1841, and the influence of that Church was so strong in the vicinity that the protestant communions sometimes sustained themselves with difficulty. Near South Bend, the Roman Catholics had built a school and nunnery on the St. Josephus River. They maintained another school near Terre Haute, which town, next to Vincennes,^{47.} was the stronghold of the Roman Catholics in Indiana.^{48.} "The success and boldness of the Romanists," Bishop Kemper wrote in 1840, "demand our attention but do not frighten us. "6 years ago they had but one clergyman in this State - now they have 23 with a number of stone chapels."^{49.}

Spirit of Missions
46. Ibid. 7, p. 4. (1842).
Ibid
47. *Spirit of Missions*, 9, p. 469 (1844).
Ibid
48. *Spirit of Missions*, 6. p. 131 (1841).
Bp. K. To E. K. Aug 31, 1840
49. Wis. Mes. 23 @ 51.

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The Roman Catholics were especially strong in Missouri, St. Louis being the centre of an increasingly active propaganda. The Methodists and Presbyterians were the most powerful protestant denominations, and offered affective opposition to the development of other protestant sects. In spite of the establishment of some eighteen or twenty denomi-
 50.
 tions in the West, the western communities were frequently described as irreligious. Although eight different churches were sometimes maintained in one small town, it was stated repeatedly that business and politics absorbed the popular interest to the exclusion of religion.

Such was the material and spiritual condition of the earliest missionary jurisdiction as the church had defined it in 1835. The erection of the Episcopal Church upon such a foundation was to be the difficult labor of wisdom, patience and devotion confronting the first missionary bishop.

50. The Seventh Census of U.S. p. 800 sq. names the most important denominations, as Baptists, Methodists, Christians, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Moravians Friends, Quakers, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Universalists, and Mormons.

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bedtime he was full of jokes and fun. On Saturday evening he quarreled & wanted to fight with Dr Bell - and that night being very drunk he spouted about a little of everything for 5 hour. Mr Donaldson a polite and lazy oh man from Louisville. Rev Mr- a congregationist clergyman from Maine going with wife and child to fairfield near Quincy."⁴ This was a typical assortment for a western steamer, and Bishop Kemper spent several days in their society while the Flora steamed slowly down the Ohio.

Madison, Indiana, was the first town the Bishop reached within his own jurisdiction. It was a fleeting visit, and from this village the boat proceeded toward the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on its way to St. Louis. The Flora was traveling slowly as the river was freezing, and the blocks of floating ice impeded her progress. The loss of time was irritating, and it is small wonder that the Bishop found need to ask for "grace to act as a X^{an} Bishop ought to do." By December third the Flora was within twelve miles of the mouth of the Ohio, but it became evident she could go no farther. The boat was then turned back to Evansville, Indiana, and for the additional mileage the passengers were charged an increase in fare. "All began to grumble," it was recorded, "at the unexpected demands of the Captain. Those who had paid him in full (10 dollars) to St. Louis have to give him 5 dollars in addition for being taken back as far as Evansville

4 Kemper Ms. Diary. Nov. 30, 1835.

and old Mr. Fustun who was rather particular and complaining about it has to pay 1.66 extra."⁵

At Evansville Bishop Kemper disembarked. He was accompanied by Rev. S. R. Johnson who had come to the West to assist in building up the Episcopal Church. According to the description of this first adventure, "When our baggage was out and on a cart we learn't that both taverns were full-the carter, however, Mr. Johnson agreed to take us in. We had a curious time.-- We entered a very common room, no plastering, no carpet-on the floor were 3 persons asleep- and on the same floor a bed was made covered with our coats in which the 4 passengers of the Flora were to repose--- I covered myself head and all with my wrapper. The Rev. Mr. J. gave me his air pillow and took his life preserver as a pillow for himself and we soon felt comfortable."⁵

It was the intention to complete the journey to St. Louis by stage across Illinois, and thus in spite of the delay the Bishop would be enabled to reach his destination before Christmas. To do this it was necessary to get to Vincennes. The roads between the important towns in the Wabash districts were in relatively good condition, although in need of some repairs, and a fairly uneventful trip was made in a wagon, dignified as a stage, through the well settled region about Princeton to Vincennes and Terrehaute. From

5. Kemper Ms. Diary. Dec. 4, 1835.

Vincennes, to which he returned on December 10, the newly consecrated Bishop mounted into an open wagon and seated upon his own traps he started through the swamps of the Little Wabash, across the Illinois State Road toward his new home. "Yesterday we started in a stage at 1/2 past 2 for this place", he wrote from Lawrenceville, Illinois, on December 12, "breakfasted at Emersons at 5, ten miles dined at Merum at 11 - Mr. Mann judge, postmaster stage agent and perhaps proprietor tavern keeper butler and servant. Here 100 inhabs - sickly, about 1/2 way 30 miles met some prairies - broke down and detained in woods an hour - harness broke - bolt broke - & at Emersons all the relay of horses ran away and had to come on with the fatigued ones."⁷ They were able to make good progress, however, and the Bishop arrived at St. Louis on December fourteenth, at three P. M., having consumed more than a fortnight upon the way.

Such a journey was a fitting initiation to western travel for an Easterner beginning a quarter century of itineracy upon the frontiers. It made him acquainted with the delay, the uncertainty and discomfort he must meet with cheerfulness, but it also left much to be discovered by the experiences which were to follow. The Bishop had caught but a glimpse of his own mission, and he was eager to be about his duties. He had promised Bishop Chase of Illinois to visit his

⁷ Kemper Ms. Diary, Dec. 12, 1835.

diocese, and as the Captain of the Mississippi steamer, Olive Branch, was an Episcopalian from St. Louis, Bishop Kerper gladly availed himself of an invitation to ascend the river to Quincy Illinois early in January, 1836. From thence he proposed to make a visitation of the state of Illinois.

Some aspects of travel in the Flora had brought a slight shock to the good Bishop, but the trip in the Olive Branch was a real trial to Christian fortitude. "I have it is true a stateroom," he wrote in his diary on January 10, "but the door will not fasten- a large dirty spitting man sleeps above me- & one corner is so occupied with bedding that I can not have my trunk in it.---At times today we went backward then we landed & got dry wood rails etc and went a little ahead", and later, "Annoyed last night by my fellow sleeper- The Captain manages with admirable patience and cheerfulness & is very attentive to our comfort and gives us good meals--- we are to remain stationary not having moved since yesterday sunset.

Jan. 14- Yesterday we started pretty early in the morning & crossed the river to another "wooding place". Here it is recorded that they were compelled to stop for the night on account of the snow. They started again in the early morning of the fifteenth, "and in 10 minutes were upon a bar- we were in that situation by the bye 2 or 3 times yesterday but were soon released- but now, altho we have the best pilot on the river, he receives

100 dolls per month & is from the Portage which is almost inhabited by that class of people-now we ran aground about 6 A.M. & and it is nearly dark and yet we are fast. What efforts have been made for our release-the engine worked backward and forward-the anchor put out the passengers often sent on board the keel boat to lighten her- a rope to a tree- all in vain, now the keel boat is sent to land to discharge her cargo---. The Captain behaves admirably. The passengers pretty well, perhaps unusually so---we have many children on board most wretchedly ~~managed~~ managed or rather totally neglected by their parents----- One of the passengers Evans of Portage has opened a barrel of apples and sells them 25 cts per doz-----

Jan. 6 A bold effort was made last night after 9 & we succeeded-went a few yards and then stuck fast for the night--- an unsuccessful effort was made before breakfast & awhile after we floated off. Then we had to reload-secure the keel & cut & bring ⁱⁿ wood We started again- & were fast for a few minutes once or twice & then set off in earnest about 1/2 past 12⁷

Calamities did not end here, however. The fall of snow which had been light and fitful became dangerous. The floating ice broke the paddles of the side wheels, and this was followed by further accidents to the machinery. Quincy was not reached short of a twelve days' journey, although

7 Kemper Es. Diary, Jan. 11-15, 1836.

the captain assured his guest that the trip was often made in two days or two and a half. So much time had been consumed that Bishop Kemper gave up the hope of any considerable visitation, and hurried by wagon to Alton to assist in organizing a parish for which there was an enthusiastic demand in the town.⁹ He found Alton at the height of a tremendous boom, and seething with activity. He was informed that a boat was expected daily to descend the river, and true to his hopes, he was able to secure passage to St. Louis on January 22.

The passengers and the Captain ^{of this new craft} were all alarmed at the danger of becoming ice bound, and the steamer was forced to move cautiously. A number of the crew were employed breaking the ice with long poles so that the boat might make headway. After ten miles of this sort of progress, it was necessary to turn back. As Bishop Kemper had heard it rumored that the Jacksonville stage had begun running to St. Louis, he hastened to Jacksonville, only to learn that the rumor was without foundation. He finally secured a hack, which was a vehicle bearing a strong family resemblance to the "stage" or "wagon" he had already encountered in Illinois. In this he reached the eastern bank of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis, but here fresh trials confronted him. The ferry was not in operation, and none of the boatmen to whom he was directed at

⁹ Vide ch. IV, note

the tavern was disposed to cross for any moderate sum. Bargaining at last secured him the services of a grim Charon who was full of prophetic forebodings, which, it appears, were not unwarranted, for in the passage, the little craft came unexpectedly upon a sandbar concealed beneath the ice, and the delay was a matter of hours, and threatened to become even more serious.¹⁰

The Mississippi was unusually low in the winter and early spring of 1836, and the sandbars were particularly embarrassing. Although the river boats were so constructed that they drew very little water, they were unable to keep from running aground in a low season. The delays from this source alone were a serious detriment to comfort and an impediment to trade during a good nine months of the year.¹¹ The larger rivers were surveyed and charted to show the permanent bars, but it was almost impossible to locate those formed of loose gravel or of shifting sand.¹² Dams had been constructed to raise the water level over the most difficult places, but sand bars frequently appeared in unexpected quarters, and very little had been done by the mid-thirties in the

10 Bishop Kemper to Elisabeth Kemper, Jan. 19 and Jan. 30 1836. Wis. Mss. 15085-15092.

11 "The Paragon drew only 5 feet of wt. - we were often aground. Wind laid vessel little on one side - crew shoved with poles. Maximilian - Travels in the Interior of North America I., 215. Thwaites' Early Western Travels. Hall, J., The West (1848); 66.

12 The work of surveying along the Ohio began in 1825. Systematic surveys and improvement of the low water channels was not carried out, however, until 1837.

way of a systematic improvement of the river.¹³ The bars, moreover, were not the most dangerous obstructions to traffic. The floating ice in the winter and early spring, and the snags and planters and sawyers during the season of open navigation were the greatest external dangers with which the western steamers had to contend.¹⁴

A trip up the Mississippi in March 1836 followed immediately by one up the Missouri river, revealed to Bishop Kemper the full force of these and other exigencies of steam-boat travel. Bad wood and some defect in the machinery of

¹³ Hiprapp stone dams were erected to maintain the water in the narrow channels. The work was under the supervision of Captain Saunders of the War Department. It was continued at intervals from 1837 to 1844, and then ceased. It was begun again in 1866. Hulbert - Ohio River, p. 189 sq. One of these dams had been built (by 1848) at Henderson's bar, 200 miles below Louisville, others at Free Island, Three Mile Island, the Saiffletown bar and the Three Sisters. These were the most difficult places in the Ohio. Hall - The West, p. 67.

¹⁴ According to Captain Saundier's estimate there had been 3303 obstructions removed from the Ohio by 1837. This work had been done, for the most part, by the snag-boats. The snag-boat was invented by Captain Shreve in the early twenties. It was a craft consisting of two hulls united by heavy beams protected by iron. It was provided with a wheel and axle moved by steam. Some distance below the snag, the boat was forced at full speed. The head of the snag met the transverse beam and was elevated. A portion of the log was then severed, and the roots torn up by the windlases. Twelve to fifteen dollars was charged for removing each snag. An account of the operation of the boat is given by Flagg DeSmett, I. p. 114. Thwaites' Early Western Travels. By 1836, when Bishop Kemper made his trip, the government operated two snag-boats and later increased its supply, but the western merchants felt the government support of the snag-boats was insufficient. In 1839 47 boats were lost from snags. 1840-41 boats lost, 1841, - 29 boats lost, 1842 - 28 boats lost. In 1843 it was reported that insurance offices



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the purpose. A steamer finally appeared on April 3, but Bishop Kemper would not avail himself of the opportunity by traveling on Easter Sunday. Fortunately for him, another boat arrived early Monday morning and he reached St. Louis on the fifth of April.

Within ten days, the Bishop was on board the Iowa making his first journey into the interior of Missouri. His fellow travelers were interesting as usual. "Payne a camp-elite preacher - rough - uncouth attacked succession and episcopate. Mr. Harrison wife and child going to Bennville Roland a young merchant from Louisville going up to liberty for pork & then with it to New Orleans. A widower with 8 children going to Lexington. A son of A. A. Brown of Philadelphia well behaved and I fear rather simple called Philadⁿ in fine. A Mr. Wood & wife now living at Alton. Much gambling kept up tonight till 10."¹⁷ The river was thick with swirling snags. The paddle boxes were repeatedly broken by the floating timber. On the Missouri it was generally necessary to travel only by day. The strong rapid current when the river was high rendered navigation particularly precarious, and in low water the bed was seen to be full of snags, planters, and mud bars.

The customs of the employees of the boat occasioned much surprise to the new fledged westerner. "Strange conduct

¹⁷ Kemper Ms. Diary, April 14, 1836.

the boat made the Mississippi trip very similar to the one already taken earlier in the year. "The river at this season is lower than at any other, and to my surprise I find it is full of sandbanks. We have been aground on many of them and on one of them were detained more than 36 hours--- happily our provisions have not run out, and then the captain is often able to buy more chickens, eggs & milk- not at the farm houses or villages, for we rarely pass any, on the contrary the country generally looks as wild as it ever did, but at the wooding places which are every now and then to be met with where one or two families build as many miserable little log cabins and occupy themselves in cutting down the trees & leaving the wood piled in cords to be sold to the boats." ¹⁴

From the visitation of Quincy, Palmyra and Ellyville in Missouri, Bishop Kemper hastened to Hannibal to catch the boat returning to St. Louis, which was reported to be due at the town, but no boat appeared. The taverns became over-crowded. The roads were impassable, and escape by land was out of the question. The delay became so intolerable to the travellers headed "three and 4 in bed & 6&7 beds in a room". ¹⁵ that a number attempted to descend the river on rafts improvised for

hesitated and sometimes refused to take the risk on the hulls
hulls of boats, and accepted only the best at 12-18¢

Hall-The West, p. 52 sq.

14 ^{pk} Kemper to ^ε Kemper Mar. 17, 1836, "Miss. 15 7 129.

15 Bp. Kemper to Rev. S.R. Johnson, April 8, 1836 Wis.
Ms. 169 7

Kemper Ms. Diary, March 27, 1836.

of the females", he wrote on his return trip. "A chambermaid taken in at Cincoin. for the first time altogether unconscious of her proper place. They go all over the boat **** Fire in ¹⁸ the cabin for the accomodation of the chambermaid's ironing." This practice of ironing in the ladies' cabin was common. The washing for the boat, the crew, and sometimes for the passengers as well, was ironed there during the trip, oftentimes to the discomfort of the patrons of the line. Such inconveniences, however, were but slight when compared with the chronic difficulties of over-crowding and defective machinery.

The early river boats were side-wheelers with an ordinary capacity of from two hundred to three hundred tons. It was not until 1840 that Bishop Kemper noted "started from Wheeling at 8 A. M. in the Utica - a boat with the wheel in the stern."¹⁸ The bow of the boat was reserved for live stock and freight. The latter was also piled upon the roof, and at times was even allowed to clutter the stairways leading to the upper decks. The deck passengers travelled amidships next to the engines, which were often dangerously exposed. The cabins were forward of the wheels and ^{by means of the stairways} stairways and were easily accessible ~~from them~~ to the upper deck. These "floating palaces" were comfortably and even handsomely appointed in their finishings. Some of the larger ones had

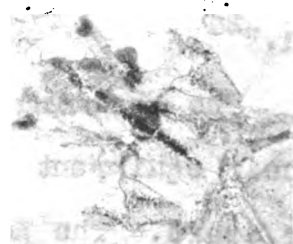
¹⁸ Kemper Ms. Diary, April 25, 1836. A Mrs. A. Steele, publishing a book of travels in 1841, described the same practice. "Ironing in the ladies' cabin is common. Suffered from this annoyance on the Illinois, Mississippi and Ohio. Steele, A Summer Journey in the West: (1841) 211.
¹⁹ Kemper Ms. Diary, July 1, 1840.

up nearly all night and has been persevered in all day." ²²
 In another place he wrote, "I had no berth but the promise
 of a snug place with a mattress & blanket on the table. But
 a young gentleman from Springfield Illinois compelled me in
 the kindest manner to take his berth every night we were on
 board." ²³

The crowding in the canal boats was ^{especially} ~~even more~~ offensive,
 as their equipment was generally more crude than that of the
 river craft. The Wabash-Erie canal was opened in 1837 with
 a marked effect upon the development of northern Indiana.
 Bishop Kemper made his first trip in the late summer, which
 was always an uncomfortable season for canal travel. "We
 started on tuesday about 9 oclock A M in the canal boat from
 Fort Wayne**** The canal ran through a low wild uncultivated
 country. The heat was excessive and the mosquitoes abounded.
 Everything on board was comparatively rude. For instance
 there were not more than half enough tumblers. The Captain
 helped each of us to a good thick slice of ham and we had
 plenty of large buns and potatoes. The cook who was like-
 wise the chambermaid etc did not sit down with us but she
 took her stand by the table and joined in the conversation***
 At night we were arranged in the following order. In one
 apartment Mr. J was in one corner I in another Mr Hoover
 a german olergyman in a third while the 4th was occupied by

²² Kemper Ms. Diary, March 15, 1837.

²³ Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, March 20, 1837, Wis. Ms. 170



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the Cook and a little girl about 12 years old. A man and his wife were in the middle on the floor. Another apartment which was likewise the bar room was occupied by the rest of the men** At Wednesday at 10 in the morning we arrived at Peru having travelled 62 miles on the canal and passed thro 18 locks by which we had probably descended 180 feet." ²⁵

The poor accommodations encountered upon this trip were due in part to the newness of the route. When the lines were in good working order, beds were provided for the passengers, but this was not an unmitigated blessing. In 1840, the same trip by canal was again reported, "Started (from Logansport) about 9 oc in a packet for Ft Wayne on board Mr Pollina of Ind Treas of State and his son a lawyer of Logansport Mr Terry a Merchant of Buffalo a student from Crawfordsville - excessively hot boats on the canal, no encouragement - no tenders on the locks water shallow - stagnant - rain leaking - mosquitoes.

17. Hard times last night from the heat rain and mosquitoes - meals pretty good - bed etc very bad. No towels to wipe on*** often aground - plenty of water snakes." ²⁶

Almost a week later he wrote, "Hard characters on board one singing metho hymns Indian choruses, swearing etc - because warm mosquitoes - gambling - poor sleeping for I was bit frequently.

22. Could get nothing but canal water to wash in My

²⁵ Bp. Kemper to F. Kemper, Aug. 31, 1837 - Wis.Mss. 176

²⁶ Kemper Diary, July 16, 1840

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towel came in use & a poor breakfast without milk. Sometimes aground."²⁷ Such conditions, however, were not inevitable. In June, 1841, the canal boat was reported as being well kept and not at all crowded. As a rule, however, canal travel was disagreeable enough.

River boats in general are not to be confused with canal freighters or packets although all suffered from many of the same shortcomings. There were numerous trips on the Mississippi and Ohio which were made in safety and comfort, with nothing more serious than moderate delays to ruffle the serenity of the traveler. The western traveler soon learned to develop large stores of patience. "Generally speaking", Bishop Kemper observed at the outset of his experience, "whatever the fare may be or however long the delays there is no murmuring on these western waters. I think I have often heard more expressions of discontent from passengers going to New York from Philadelphia than I have heard since I left Pittsburg."²⁸ By prefacing his remark with "generally speaking", the Bishop has placed it beyond attack, but certainly, according to his own accounts, the westerner sometimes chafed at the inconveniences he was forced to endure. This was particularly the case when delays and maladjustments were combined with the dangers of defective machinery.

²⁷ Kemper Diary, July 21, 1840.

²⁸ Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, March 17, 1836 - Wis. Mss. 153 129.

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Measures for the protection of human life upon the western rivers had made but slight development by the thirties and forties. The makers of machinery had not yet mastered the principles of mechanics, and the steamboat officials were too ignorant or too careless to take adequate precautions against accidents, and as a result fires and explosions were unnecessarily numerous. 29. Bishop Kemper was fortunate in suffering no serious mishaps. On December 15, 1840, he began a most trying journey from St. Louis to Evansville, but there was no danger connected with the trip. "Slow boat", he wrote, "Poor accommodations - had to get sheets and clean ones***

16 - Stopt last night to take in corn *** a cool morning - still taking in corn. Got aground on a sandbar where after many ineffectual efforts to be off we remained all night.

17 - We were floating at an early hour & about 11 arrived at Cairo - 1000 men at work here *** some of our passengers went on board the buckeye. regret I did not do the same but am so unwilling to pain the captain who however is full of misstatements - he was to be at Cairo 2 hours and he has remained 6. All the corn was taken out & we hoped now in a full river without snags to travel fast***

18 - The boat apparently moved slower than ever

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29. Hall estimates that from 1831-1833, 66 steamboats went out of service on the western waters; 16, unseaworthy, 7 destroyed by ice, 15 burnt, 24 snagged, and 5 collisions.
The West p 134
According to DeBow's Review, taken from the defective

19 - This morning 2 or 3 mi above Shawneetown we stopt to repair our machinery having travelled at the rate of 3 mi an hour since we left the mouth - While stopping the Scioto Valley came up and almost all the passengers left us***** We travelled about 6 mi per hour after the repairs."³¹ The trip consumed an entire week. This, of course, was extremely slow progress, the average rate of speed being from 8 to 12 miles an hour.³² Any unusual condition was likely to affect this rate, and there were certain passages that necessitated slow travel. The rapids in the Ohio opposite Louisville offer one example of this sort,³³ and the upper and lower Desmoines rapids in the Mississippi supply another. *at this latter point* passengers usually disembarked at Keokuk, at the foot of the Desmoines rapids and went by stage to Desmoines, while freight was loaded

statistics of the Commissioner of Patents, the steamers lost by explosions were as follows,-

1830 - 12	1838 - 11	1846 - 7
1831 - 2	1839 - 3	1847 - 12
1832 - 1	1840 - 8	1848 - 12
1833 - 5	1841 - 7	
1834 - 7	1842 - 7	
1835 - 10	1843 - 9	
1836 - 13	1844 - 4	
1837 - 13	1845 - 11	

From 1816 to 1848, 233 boats were lost from this cause. The average pecuniary loss was estimated at \$13,302 each, and the average injury to life was 11 killed, 9 wounded. On the western waters alone the number of explosions by decades was reported,-

1810 to 1820 - 3 boats	1830 to 1840 - 184 boats
1820 to 1830 - 37 "	1840 to 1850 - 272 "

DeBow's Review (New Orleans, 1856) p. 154.

24 Kemper Ms. Diary, Dec. 15, 1840.

32 Grund, F. J., The Americans in Their Moral, Social and Political Relations (in 3 vols - 1837) Vol. II, p. 233.

33 The falls were about 20 feet at this point and the passage of steamboats was impracticable except at flood tide. A Kentucky company was chartered to cut a canal in 1804,

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upon keel boats and lighters in order to permit the passage
 of the steamers. ^{31.} Progress was frequently slow indeed, as
 the boats from above the rapids often came down with their
 lighters already laden with lead from the mines about Dubuque,
 Galena and Mineral Point, and lighterage and reshipment at
 Des Moines were protracted affairs. A single steamer would
 sometimes tow six or eight keel boats loaded with ore. This
 could be done with some success in the Mississippi, but in
 the smaller rivers, such as the Illinois, it was necessary
 to bring them two at a time to the mouth of the narrow stream
 while the passengers were permitted in this way to acquire an
 increasing familiarity with the scenery of upper Illinois.

Bishop Kemper generally found travel on the Lakes
 extremely pleasurable. It is true, that he seldom came west
 in this way. His first journey to Green Bay in 1834 had been
 from Buffalo, ^{32.} and several times in the forties and fifties

but nothing was done until 1825, when the Louisville
 and Portland Canal Company was incorporated. The work
 was not completed until December 5, 1830. The next
 year 406 steamboats, 46 keels, and 357 flats passed
 through the canal. The tolls charged were extremely
 high and the delays were unnecessarily long. Frequent
 complaints and pleas were made for government improve-
 ment to obviate the difficulties at the Louisville
 Canal. Hulbert - Ohio River, p. 216.

33. The income from this lighter service amounted to an
 annual average of \$200 to \$600. Vander Zee - Roads
 and Highways of Territorial Iowa Iowa Journal of Hist.
 and Politics, 3 p. 205.

34. Wis. Historical Collections, XIV, p. 394.

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he came to his mission by this route. Numerous trips to the east were made over the lakes and he always found the boats comfortable and commodious. The Ohio River and the National Road were more conveniently located in relation to his mission, however, and the demands of his work often called him to New York or Philadelphia when the lakes were closed, and for these reasons he had relatively little experience with Lake navigation.

With all of its inconveniences, travel by water was preferable to travel by land, but the rivers were closed for a short period in the winter,³⁴ and there was a season, generally in the late summer, when navigation was almost impossible on account of the low water. In 1838, travel was held up for some time for this reason. Bishop Kemper waited in Pittsburg "hoping" as he expressed it, "but with thousands of others hoping in vain for the rising of the waters. The Ohio has not been so low as it is now for 20 years all steam boats are laid by & even flat boats can scarcely run."³⁵ The seriousness of this situation was unusual, but the ordinary danger and inconvenience occasioned by running aground during

³⁴ Three months is the time usually stated for the period during which the ice caused a cessation of river traffic, but in Bishop Kemper's experience the time was much shorter than this. Six weeks to two months is a more accurate statement of conditions which his diaries and letters indicate.

³⁵ Bishop Kemper to E. Kemper, Oct. 24, 1838, Wis. Mus. 200 52.

Indianapolis was notoriously hard to travel. Bishop Kemper passed over it several times in 1837. "The road thus far has been hard and rough," he wrote from Vernon ^{Indiana} on the north-bound trip, "as the hubs were fresh the shaking was great & the two ladies overcome with fatigue retired to rest without and before supper **** I sat till 9 in the bar room & only found an opportunity to read a little Greek the rest of my time was occupied in listening to the conversation of stage drivers **** Vernon appeared to be a bustling place. The contracts for the railroad (22 I believe in number) are rented this far - and the men are at work upon most of them. The landlord appeared wild upon the subject. It is supposed that he who takes the plain will fail - and that the first 22 miles will cost as much as the rest of the way to Indianapolis. Thus far the country is broken but from Vernon it is level a continual forest except where there is an occasional farm, a village or a stream."⁵⁸ It doubtless seemed to the traveller that the rough and frozen ground must add much to the discomfort of a winter trip, but the Madison-Indianapolis road was difficult at all seasons. "The worst ride I have yet had", the Bishop wrote in June, 1838, "was from Indianapolis to Madison. The stage went as rapidly as if the road was smooth - but in reality it is almost entirely formed of logs or rails and the earth having been washed away from

39 Kemper Ms. Diary, Jan. 24, 1837.



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round-about ways. In January of 1837 he had set out from Indianapolis for the Wabash River towns, keeping to the National road as long as possible and striking north towards Crawfordsville. He found the National road "graded and bridged but not macadamised, the heaps of cobblestones from the rivers were lying along the road for that purpose."⁴⁰

The conductor of this trip was a stage driver who also kept a tavern near Crawfordsville. He managed to time his journeys so that he could give his house a little official favoritism by persuading travelers to stop with him on the way to or from the river. Here the Bishop spent the night, leaving at daybreak. As his stage contract provided for the return trip, he found himself back at the tavern within a few days. "Started in the same waggon with a Mr. Cochran a mer. [chant] (chant) of C. [Crawford] & a Mr Skiff a mer. [chant] of Newtown. Arrived before dark at M [Cullholands] - a monstrous fire. Traveller after traveller came in - 3 from Ohio for Illinois - one of the Wabash - a merchant - a farmer quite tipsy from some neighborhood. Called to supper in my room - poor - but a fire - Coming out saw M's wife and infant in the bed - they are sick. The heat of our immense fire compelled us to open the door notwithstanding the cold" *** C and I slept together in the bed wh M & his family occupied night before last. His wife's cap hanging near. But one sheet." ⁴¹ "I was amused

⁴⁰ Kemper Ms. Diary, Jan. 30, 1837.

⁴¹ Ibid. Feb. 1, 1837.

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with the p.o. estab. on this route," he wrote on February 2, as he continued his journey back to Indianapolis. "In one case the p.m. came to the stage & ex a little bag in the mail - at another time it was opened on a porch & 2 or 3 packages put in but letters were not even looked for - in a 3d case, the P. M. would not even open the mail but told us to go on as he had nothing to put in." 42

The mud was most formidable when the ground was thawing in the late winter or early spring. The continuation of this trip from the Wabash to the Ohio valley illustrated the general condition of the roads at this season. "The stage started before dinner with two men in it - the wind blew - the mud was deep and it snowed. Went to the northern part of town (Indianapolis) & took in Col Macy of Henry County & his wife with three trunks & we were now overcrowded as we were in a common covered wagon. It was with great difficulty we proceeded - the mud often like thick clay & half way to the knees of the horses. At dark we had gone ten miles and had ten more to go - the old & new drivers with the tavern keeper, Thos Rutter, protested that we could not go on & if we started we shd certainly be mired. We took supper & finally it was decided that the new driver sh'd carry the mail on horseback & the two men sh'd go with him on other horses. Mr. & Mrs M & myself remained. In the bar room - no candles - to bed at 8

44 Kemper Ms. Diary, Feb. 2, 1837.

Handwritten text, mostly illegible due to extreme fading and noise. Some faint characters are visible, including a small '4' in the center and a '10' at the bottom right.

after hearing enough improper conversation. Taken to a room unplastered with 3 beds, one for me with one sheet-another occupied by our late driver & one who had been sick abed for some time & required much attention & was wakeful and uneasy- the other by a man and a boy".⁴³

Desperately bad as were these roads at this season of the year, they did not deter the western immigration. The entry was made on the night following the adventure described above, "We met yesterday and today conversed the women of the parties sometimes walking in all this mud."⁴⁴ After a dry season, the roads often admitted the passage of horses and vehicles with no more serious inconvenience than a jolting.

Illinois was not so fully provided with roads as Indiana. For the most part, the principal settlements of the state had been made within easy reach of the many navigable streams, and these rivers were important highways. The roads, however, were sufficiently numerous to permit travel through the most thickly settled regions, and the prairie offered few obstacles to travel during the dry season. The National road was not used beyond Terre Haute, Indiana, its place being taken by the Illinois State road through Lawrenceville, Maysville, Carlisle, and Lebanon in Illinois to St. Louis, Missouri. This was rendered difficult by the swamps of the little Wabash, being even dangerous in ^{rainy} season. This was the route Bishop Kemper had taken in his

43 Kemper M.s. Diary, Feb. 8, 1837.

44 Ibid. Feb. 9, 1837.

rain fell rapidly & I was obliged to put down my umbrella.
 It became so dark that I could not see one of the four horses.
 The driver guessed and went on. 3 times we were against stumps
 or trees. Then he had to jump out into the water and feel about
 him. The waggon was old, shackling with apparently every part
 loose. All the boards on the bottom, as we jarred or fell from
 one log to another on the rail or causeway advanced toward the
 horses heads leaving an open space behind & bringing the mail
 bags, my trunk forward ***** Thus we went I think for 5 miles
 thro the tremendous swamp. We then entered a prairie & the
 rain increased. At one o'clock we stopt, having been 5 hours
 in performing 13 miles. I went into the house where the driv-
 ers sleep - made a fire & found I was wet to the skin. Bor-
 rowed of the new driver an old torn overcoat *** we got to the
 next stage about daylight where I had to resign the old coat
 before I could get my clothes or surtout dry. Here I ought
 to have slept some hours - but we were so late in coming in
 that our detention was not longer than 20 minutes. As day
 light approached I observed the ends of the board on which I
 had been sitting covered at least an inch thick with mud & as
 the newer driver was afraid his horses would run off with him
threw myself on the damp mail bags, having seen
 as they had done so the night before, he stood up & I lost our
 seat & our frontpiece too, we entered Lawrenceville at 8 o'clock.
 ***** the sun came out & warmed me - the text of the day com-
 forted me, & riding over the bottom of the Wabash I occasionally
 slept." ⁴⁶

The trails of Wisconsin proper began to be systematically enlarged into roads by 1836. A military road had been constructed from Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, along the Wisconsin River to Fort Winnebago, whence two military roads extended, one north of Fox Lake to Fort Howard, and one south of the Lake through Fond du Lac and the Brotherton country to Green Bay. Even as late as 1840 extensive travel by wagon was difficult in Wisconsin for lack of suitable carriage roads, though the principal towns had been connected and several stage lines were in operation at certain seasons.

Few of the western roads were well made or in good repair during the first decade of Bishop Kemper's Episcopate. They had grown up naturally, or, as was often the case, they had been laid out by order of the county governments on the demand of a suitable number of settlers. The county commissioners were often empowered to appoint road and bridge reviewers and supervisors who should oversee the construction of these highways and their repair. The territorial and state governments also took part in road building. The military and postal roads were constructed or improved by federal appropriations. The National road surveyed from Wheeling to Jefferson City, Missouri, was, of course, a federal undertaking, but as soon as it stood in need of repairs the government surrendered the road to the states which charged toll for its use. Its final construction across Indiana was put in the hands of the Wayne Turnpike Company, which did not fully complete the work until

47. 1850. The effort at actual construction by the national government got no further west than Vandalia, Illinois, where all work was halted after the financial crisis of 1837.

In the forties the stage routes were macadamized more frequently than in the preceding decade. Turnpikes and plank roads began to increase and travel became less strenuous. The railroad era was fast approaching; local lines were being constructed even in the West, and in the settled regions the days of the stage coach were numbered. Continuous western travel by railway, however, was still in the future. After 1848 each year added something to the railway mileage of the west, ~~for~~ but until the early fifties, Bishop Kemper continued to journey about his mission in much the same way that he travelled in 1836, that is, along the natural and improved roads in "a wagon called a stage."

"Stage" in the West was something of a generic term used to indicate any conveyance employed to transport passengers. The kind most frequently seen was an open or covered wagon, and this form of vehicle, though not conducive to comfort in the highest degree, afforded greater safety than the top-heavy stage coach. "However strange it may appear it is too true that all the stages

47. Hulbert - Historic Highways, v. 10, p. 80 sq.

48. A tabular outline of railways in the Old Northwest before the Civil War is appended to an article of that title by Frederic L. Paxson in Vol. XVII. Part 1 of Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1912.

from this place (Indianapolis) start at 9 o'clock at night", a letter stated in 1840. "I intended to say wagons for a stage coach could scarcely be kept from upsetting every mile."^{49.}

The westerners frequently used a heavy wagon with wide wheels so constructed as to lessen the danger of sinking into the mud. This was familiarly called the "mud wagon," and possessed the same advantage over the ordinary wagon which the latter could claim over the coach. "But then came the trouble", Bishop Kemper wrote, describing this kind of conveyance, "there was nothing but a mud wagon and all who wished

^{49.} Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, May 2, 1840. Wbs. Mss. 22G 124.

could not get into it***in a short time the road became horribly bad - no common carriage could have passed over it - we pitched from one hole to another *** We occasionally stooped to ascertain our position, and once the driver with the two mail bags on which he was seated was thrown off."⁵³ These wagons were covered or uncovered not in accordance with the comfort of the traveler, but the resources of the contractor.⁵⁴ From Wisconsin in 1840 the complaint was made, "The stage coaches and private carriages of this country are nothing but open wagons."⁵⁵ The trip over the Illinois State road from Vincennes to St. Louis was described at another time. "Paid my fare to St L & promised a post coach ***all ready by 2 & so was Lill - rain - at 5½ a mud wagon appeared - low top, canvassed all around but in front *** no springs, excessively rough travelling - whole distance to St Louis 170 miles - half way by midnight. Lill almost broken down."⁵⁶

⁵³ Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Nov. 24, 1843. Wis.Mss. 28G 13.

⁵⁴ In 1840, Bishop Kemper wrote to his daughter "This is the 7th day in succession that I have been riding in uncovered wagons exposed to the sun excepting for the shelter which an umbrella affords. I am not well, & yet I am not sick." (Wis. Mss. 25G25). The immediate convenience of the contractor was more important than the contract in many cases. From Missouri the Bishop wrote, "I liked to have been sent in a one horse wagon altho the contract is for a 4 horse stage coach - started with a Ky shop keeper at Pal(my)ra in a 2 horse wagon with a top, owing to the interference of Mr. Ayers." Diary - July 4, 1831.

⁵⁵ Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Oct. , 1840. Wis.Mss. 28G 80.

⁵⁶ Kemper Ms. Diary, Nov. 7, 1842.

"Lill" was the pet name by which the Bishop addressed or referred to his daughter who accompanied him West by way of the Lakes in 1842, and went with him on his visitations of that year.



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The regular stages were run in relays with fixed stations, where horses and drivers were changed. The drivers were important factors in stage travel. Occasionally they were entertaining, occasionally taciturn, more often neither one nor the other. Their wages were about twelve dollars a month with their board and lodging, and they were a class as distinctly apart from ordinary citizens as were the river men. On the national road or such thoroughfares where traffic could be organized, and the hauling of freight separated from passenger traffic, the teamsters received from \$1.25 to \$2.25 per hundredweight according to the grade and general condition of the road. The drivers had established reputations with their fellows, and among the habitual travellers as well, which they were eager to maintain. One skillful driver was described as a "nice pious man who sang cheerful hymns and tunes," and another as desirous of obtaining a college education. It is to be feared, however, that these exemplary individuals were rare in the stage driving profession, and many of the drivers gave a God-fearing traveler much cause for moral apprehension as well as physical discomfort, for an intoxicated and profane driver upon a dangerous road could touch all sides of human nature, awakening body, soul and spirit to a peculiar watchfulness.

The cost of a private vehicle was higher than stage fare, but such a wagon had to be secured for travel into communities where no stage lines existed, or during seasons when the stages were not running. "I reached home from Green



Bay Friday between 2 & 4 oclock P. M." a gentleman of Milwaukee wrote in 1840, "being less than 4 days on the road - and I put up before sunset each day - the charge for the horses and wagon was 42 dollars and other expenses a little over 10 dollars. I sold the gold for a premium and it fell short only a few cents of paying the whole bill."⁵⁴ In 1837, Bishop Kemper's diary stated, "After some difficulty we obtained a conveyance (from Crawfordsville, Indiana, for Terre Haute) for which I am to be charged \$20 We started about 1 oclock - the driver, horses and buggy as it was called being worse than those in wh I came up **** we passed through Waveland and stopt for the night at Reinsbach. B & I were put into the same room with the landlord wife & 4 little children. We slept together and had one sheet ***** our charges were low. 6 bits for supper beds & breakfast for us two - the driver pd 5 bits for himself and horses - the horses having as much oats as they could eat."⁵⁵

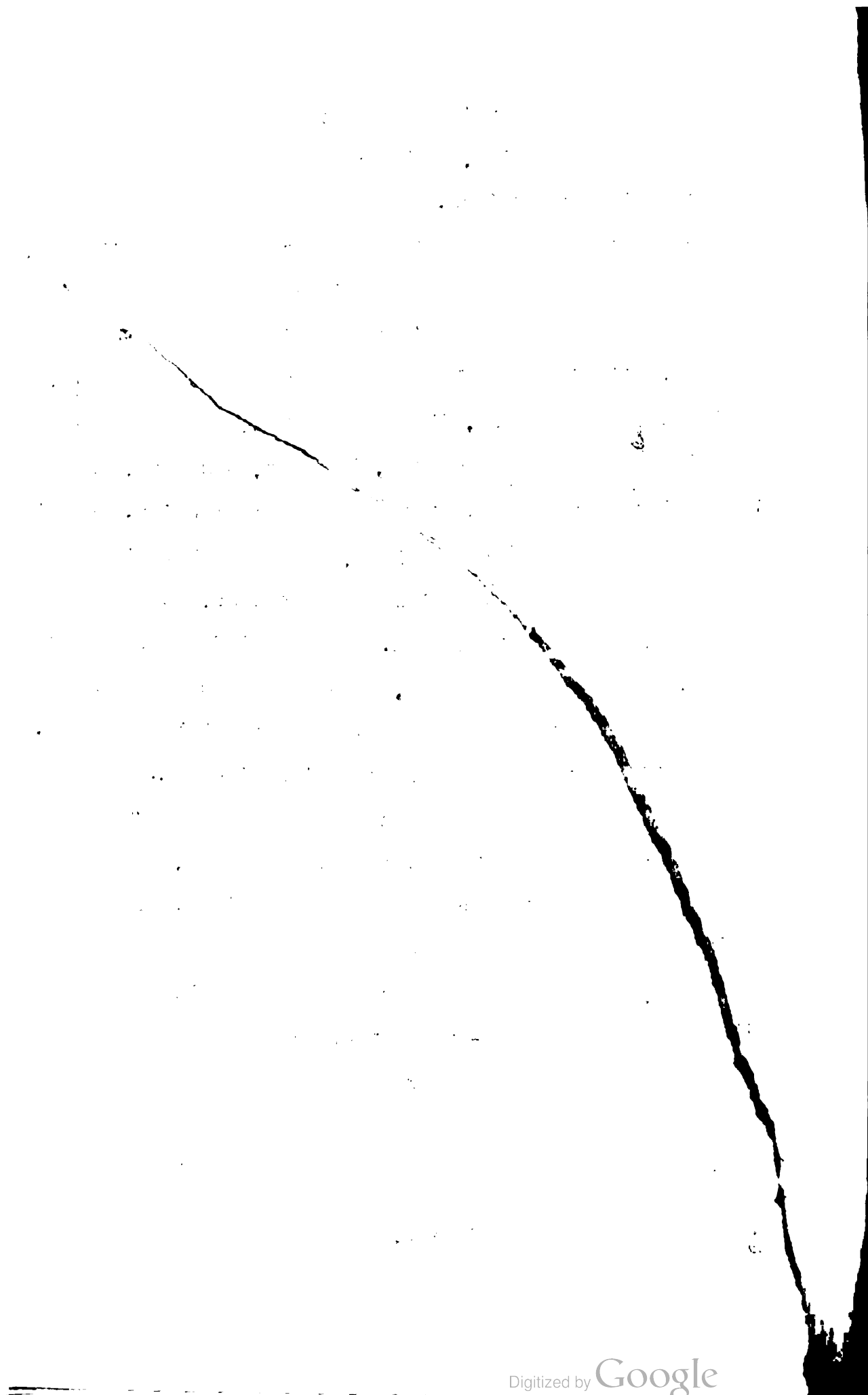
The problem of entertainment was a vital one to the western traveler. The stages which had definite itineraries were scheduled to make appropriate stops at meal times and often for the night, but accidents frequently rendered these provisions useless, and at best the ordinary accommodations left much to be desired. The town taverns in the older states of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were generally crowded to overflowing so that travelers were sometimes turned from the doors. This, however, was rare, as the degree of crowding necessary

⁵⁴ Rev. Hull to Bp. Kemper, Oct., 1840. Vis. Mss. 236 69.
⁵⁵ Kemper Ms. Diary, June 13, 1837.

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to bring a tavern keeper to the realization that his resources were strained was amazing, and the comfort demanded by the western traveler was slight.

The general condition of the taverns had been illustrated to Bishop Kemper by his first experiences in Evansville in 1835. At this time he found inns plentiful in the Valley of the Wabash. At Vincennes he seemed usually to fare well. At Burton's Inn, Terre Haute, it was reported, "I got a dirty room to myself."⁵⁴ Such good fortune, however, was rare, as Saturnian traits were not encouraged upon the frontier. On his visitation through Indiana in 1837, his route lay finally toward the northern towns which he approached, as already indicated, by the Michigan road. "We started on Wednesday afternoon," the account states, "and as it became dark were told we had nine miles yet to travel (to reach Logansport). At a distance of 1/2 mile we were fast in the mud. Having turned out to ascertain what was to be done an Irish couple who had their baby and all their duds with them, missed a bed which had been tied to the top of the stage. The exclamations particularly of the poor woman were very strange and amusing. A party set off to hunt for the lost treasure *** it became very dark - mosquitoes flocked around us ***** After a time the hunters returned - the bed had been found in a nice muddy place & the driver informed us he was now satisfied he could not get on that night & therefore we must

⁵⁴ Kemper Ms. Diary, June 2, 1837.



go back about 1/2 mile to a tavern to sleep ***** I told the landlord that if possible I would like a room to myself. I was therefore taken into another room which was a little better than the one I had left which was full of dirty wagoners. Here after a few minutes I went to sleep & was refreshed in the morning altho I found that while I was in one bed the landlord his wife and two children were in another - the maid of all work was in a third - while the Irish woman and her young one were luxuriating on her own nice muddy bed on the floor. ***On Thursday after some hard work & breaking a great deal of harness etc the stage was placed in a movable condition - then three hours were occupied in making and mending little thing - we started at noon and having travelled 9 miles were told we must wait until the next day before we could go further. Yesterday we arrived here (Logansport) about Sunset in safety." ⁵⁰

Vigors' Inn at Logansport was a respectable house. Bishop Kemper stopped there whenever it was possible. "Obtained a room to myself", he wrote in 1837, "and altho I made a dead set for clean sheets do not think I got them." ⁵¹ On the outskirts of Lima it was reported, "We stayed at a cabin where there was a large family. J and I slept in one bed a sick woman in the other & 2 men in the 3d. The other room was equally well filled. The mistress of the house was

⁵⁰ Bp. Kemper to F. Kemper, Aug. 6, 1837. Wis. Mss. 176
⁵¹ Kemper Ms. Diary, Aug. 5, 1837.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The text outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that the information is reliable and up-to-date.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of the proposed changes. It details the steps involved in the process, from the initial planning stage to the final execution. The text highlights the challenges faced during the implementation and the strategies used to overcome them. It also mentions the role of the staff in the successful completion of the project.

3. The third part of the document provides a summary of the findings and conclusions. It states that the proposed changes have been successfully implemented and that the organization is now operating more efficiently. The text also mentions the need for continuous monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the changes remain effective over time.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the future plans of the organization. It mentions the need to continue to improve the system and to address any issues that may arise. The text also mentions the need to keep the staff informed and involved in the process.

5. The fifth part of the document is a conclusion. It states that the proposed changes have been successfully implemented and that the organization is now operating more efficiently. The text also mentions the need for continuous monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the changes remain effective over time.

sick & unable to leave her bed. Yet in the same room we sat morning & evening by the fire - & slept.⁵⁹ At Lower's tavern in Fort Wayne, "We had a pretty large room with two beds in it. The beds were good."⁶⁰ Genper's tavern fifteen miles from Delphi afforded another stopping place. "The tavern is crowded in consequence of its being court week & I sat up late reading my letters, & supposed they would not let me get to sleep - but daylight proved I had had bugs & flees to contend with."⁶¹

Coming down the eastern portion of the state at this time, Bishop Kemper fared very well, largely because the inns were not so crowded at that particular season. At Harrison he noted with delight that the "cockroaches" which were so numerous in his room, could "neither bite nor sting." The volume of travel was always heavy in the river towns, and often the towns in the southeastern corner of the state were more crowded with travellers than the Bishop found them in 1837. Travellers suffered continually from the lack of sufficient accommodations. Any derangement in navigation occasioned extraordinary congestion in the taverns of the Mississippi and Missouri River towns of Missouri and Iowa, although the situation was not materially different in those states from that in Indiana.

Upon a journey into the more thinly settled regions of the West, even such accommodations as the inns could provide

⁵⁹ Kemper Ms. Diary, Aug. 25, 1837.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Aug. 25, 1837.

⁶¹ Ibid. Aug. 31, 1837.

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were not to be obtained. The house of the chance settler was the only resource in such a case. This was sometimes an improvement upon the tavern, and sometimes did not offer even its crude advantages. Bishop Kemper undertook such a journey through southwestern Missouri in November, 1838, on a visit to the Seneca in the Indian Country. From Boonville he struck southwest and soon found himself in a region less thickly settled than along the Missouri River. A heavy fall of snow drove him to seek shelter at a settler's hut. "It had no window consequently the door was left open for light. Some newspapers were nailed over the logs perhaps for ornament or perhaps to keep out some of the air which rushed in at many an aperture*** At our meals the door was wide open to let in light & then we were chilled to the heart & shaking while we were eating. 6 of us slept in this miserable room two in a ⁶⁴bed." In this letter to his daughter he stated further, "Thursday I rode 30 miles. Spent the night at Squire Norton's. What a time we had. It was excessively cold. There was a heap of snow in the middle of the room which was not removed & did not melt in the slightest degree. The roof the floor the sides of the house and the door all admitted torrents of air. Two nice looking little boys 3 & 5 yrs of age were without stockings shoes vests or coats - they yet had on their summer garments and appeared healthy."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Bishop Kemper to Elizabeth Kemper, Nov. 19, 1838. Wis. Mas. 20G 72:

Accommodations in Wisconsin were of much the same chance variety save in the Lake towns or in the southwestern corner of the territory. In the towns, however, an unusual degree of comfort seems to have been afforded by the taverns, or else Bishop Kemper's acknowledged partiality for that territory prejudiced his judgment. In 1838, he made a journey with some of his clergy from Galena, Illinois, to Green Bay. This trip illustrated the conditions of the region at this early period. The Bishop crossed the Mississippi from Dubuque, Iowa, where he had a small room to himself "with many bed bugs,"⁶⁸ and visited "Menominee," a village of one house. From here the party proceeded in an open wagon - after a detour to Galena - to the home of the Dodges fourteen miles from the Wisconsin River, whence they continued their journey to Prairie du Chien and spent the night at Fort Crawford. The next village reached was Cassville. Dennison's large brick tavern at this place was said to be the finest house at the territory except the Capitol, then under construction, and clean separate rooms for the travellers bore evidence that it possessed unusual attractions. From Cassville the party directed their course to Dodgeville and Mineral Point. They were lost upon the Prairie for sixteen miles out of sight of any house, and finally came to the cabins of a man named Parish who lived in one low log cabin with his negro wife and kept another cabin for guests. His entertainment was good and he refused pay

⁶⁸ Kemper Ms. Diary, July 15, 1838.

when the party left in the morning for Mineral Point. At five o'clock the following morning they set out from Minery Point with Madison as their destination. For fifteen miles they saw no sign of habitation. Near Blue Mounds they passed the cabin of Mr. Kellogg, a Presbyterian Yankee, and, pressing on a little further, they reached the clearing of Mr. Brigham. Here a refreshing spring invited their attention and they were accommodated with a "nice frugal yankee dinner."⁶⁷ One of the party had inadvertently scattered a discharge of bird shot into the unfortunate driver, and they were forced to delay at Brigham's until the driver could bandage his hands and arms. On account of the accident, they made slow progress for fourteen miles to Harry's tavern, a dirty place with "insects a plenty."⁶⁸ Between Harry's place and Madison City the party was benighted upon the prairie.

Of Madison, the capitol of the territory, the Bishop said, "Only one house here a year ago and now perhaps 2 doz*** the tavern half finished and apparently full - no fresh meat at dinner or supper *** we had a room to ourselves altho only lathing separated the rooms."⁶⁹ Beyond Madison they passed⁷⁰ through a beautiful country without the slightest sign of civilization for twenty-three miles, when they came to the very dirty hut of a Frenchman where they got some pork, tea and bread but no sugar.⁷¹ Thus fortified, they began the

⁶⁷ Kemper Ms. Diary, July 27, 1838.

⁶⁸ Ibid.,

⁶⁹ Ibid., July 28, 1838.

⁷⁰ Ibid., July 30, 1838.

passage of Duck Creek.

A military road laid in the usual corduroy construction lead through the swamp. The horses were nervous and had to be coaxed across the causeway. In attempting this, one of the men slipped from the road up to his waist in mire and water. It was eventually necessary to take the horses out from the wagon and pull the vehicle over by hand. Both horses fell during the process and only the timely arrival of Major Cobb and a welcoming party from Fort Winnebago prevented a serious catastrophe. The route from Winnebago lay through Fond du Lac. The road was still the military one and was in good repair. Refreshment was obtained along the way from the cabin of an Indian married to a mulatto. Here things were exceptionally clean and the food was appetizing.

Fond du Lac contained two houses. The tavern was "neat" and meals were "slim." The military road from Fond du Lac through the Brotherton Country to Green Bay became almost impassable. The ladies at Winnebago had supplied the party with provisions - wine, crackers and smoked beef - to which the travellers were forced to resort upon this last stretch. Just below the Grand Kaukalin Rapids they passed over an unspeakable stretch of road, swamp, and deep holes where the wagon had to be held back with ropes. The Green Bay Mission at the end of the journey seemed like a haven of rest to the weary party.

The return trip and subsequent journeys revealed no unusual conditions. The Lake towns furnished accommodations similar to those in the older states. The mistress of one of

the taverns at Milwaukee was described as showing "symptoms of no fondness for washing or an abhorance of water."⁶⁷ The case must have exhibited the mania in a remarkable degree of ~~intensity~~ ^{for} to have received honorable mention, ~~but~~ from all accounts ^{it} was scarcely an unprecedented one upon the frontier.

The meals which were offered to the traveller at these wayside inns seem to have lacked more in quality and variety than in quantity. The ubiquitous pig, which was the wild beast most frequently encountered in a western journey, furnished the major part of the meat supply, though salt pork was a hardship for even the seasoned veteran of western travel. The traveller was often imposed upon at the stage stands, but the town taverns seemed to have provided meals which were at least sufficient to sustain life.

Bishop Kemper wrote from Indiana at various times between 1835 and 1845, "The only meat a few slices of pork (most of it pickled) in its own clear fat gravy. The apple pye hot, spiced, but most of it crust. There meat & coffee & tea are doubt'd of it is perhaps difficult to relish a hearty meal. Everything however was neat and comfortable."⁶⁸

"A dirty miserable tavern where I had a dinner of pork & red cabbage which turned black & made the pork equally so both were very palatable."⁶⁹

"At a farmer's *** we dined. No meat but a little salt pork - no potatoes - but hot bread, cabbage turnips etc.

⁶⁷ Kemper Ms. Diary, Feb. 18, 1844.

⁶⁸ Ibid, Dec. 12, 1836.

⁶⁹ Ibid, Sept. 3, 1840.

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text covering the majority of the page. The text appears to be organized into several paragraphs, with some lines being more distinct than others. A small, dark mark is visible near the top right corner.]

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For each of our meals yesterday we paid 25 cents."⁷⁰

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"We got bread butter honey & milk and paid 6-1/4 cents."

In Missouri the fare was similar, though the cooking was better. "Stopt at a farm house for dinner - pork, snaps, corn break & butter milk eeverything tasted good - ate plenty."⁷²

"We had our breakfast of hot bread pork cucumbers & coffee without sugar or butter."⁷³

"Altho our victuals were hot & the door closed we could scarcely swallow them for the cold. We had meat corn dodgers & black homony with coffee - but no sugar no butter."⁷⁴

Frequently upon the frontier the room in which the meals were eaten was left unheated. It is small wonder that the westerner developed a remarkable degree of speed in devouring his provisions. From Scipio, Indiana, the Bishop wrote in 1839, "here as in most places on the road our meals were eaten with chattering teeth in consequence of the want of fire."⁷⁵

It can hardly be inferred from the failure to find beef recorded in this one diary that it formed ^{small} no part of the westerner's dietary. Its omission may have been a matter of accident, but certainly beef was much more rare than pork or fowl. Several times "fresh meat" and "white fish" were recorded, and occasionally veal was served.

The cost of stage travel and entertainment was higher than for travel by water, and competition between the overland

⁷⁰ Kemper Ms. Diary, Dec. 9, 1835.

⁷¹ Ibid., Aug. 24, 1837.

⁷² Ibid., July 4, 1839.

⁷³ Bishop Kemper to Rev. S. R. Johnson, Aug. 15, 1838. Wis. Mss. 19G 126.

⁷⁴ Bishop Kemper to Elizabeth Kemper. Wis. Mss. 20Q 72.

⁷⁵ Kemper Ms. Diary, Jan. 24, 1837.

and water routes was sometimes keen. The cost of transportation in any form, however, was variable. The methods of steamboat construction and the accidents to which they were subject made the life of the ordinary steamer short of six years, and it was necessary that within this period the fares and freight rates should be made to cover the cost of construction and the running expenses of the boat. The average expense for fuel on a Mississippi boat was estimated in 1859 at \$2850.00 per month, and the cost of wages and provisions at more or less than \$2250.00.⁶⁷ In the late forties the round trip between Pittsburg and New Orleans could be made in eighteen days.⁶⁸ Speed determined the number of trips possible in

⁶⁶ Rev. George Upfold of Mt. Hobart, Pa., described this condition in regard to fares on the canal packets, but the same competition existed for longer journeys. "The fare in the stages has been reduced to 13, 12 and 10 dollars", Mr. Upfold wrote, "and I presume the Packets will be obliged to run at the lowest of these fares in order to obtain passengers." Wis. Mes. 27G 67.

⁶⁷ Steamboats generally paid for themselves in one year. Hunt's Merchant Magazine, Vol. 1, p. 407. Another estimate gives the average expense of a Mississippi boat of 886 tons as \$355 per day from St. Louis to New Orleans, a boat of 498 tons as \$325 per day; an Illinois river boat of 132 tons as \$70 per day. Hunt's Merchant Magazine, Vol. 17, p. 527.

⁶⁸ Hall, The West, p. 11 sq.: This estimate of western

the year, and thus affected the rates which must be charged. Competition between the boats in port, as well as with overland routes, and the general state of the river all influenced steamboat charges, making them extremely uncertain.⁸³ Bishop Kemper paid an average fare of four or five cents a mile upon the western rivers, and less than this upon the Lakes. This was for cabin passage and included the cost of meals and accommodations enroute. The fare for deck passage was much lower and opportunity was given to the flatboatmen returning up stream and to many others, to work out their fare by collecting fuel at the wooding places or assisting with the keel boats and the poles, in case the steamer ran aground.

Rough as such an estimate may be, it must be even more unsatisfactory in the case of travel by land. It is impossible to work out the cost of travel by private conveyance, but by striking an average for stage fare over known distances throughout the West during the years of itineracy, a general estimate may be made that the fare was about six to nine cents a mile. As the traveler seldom ate more than one meal at a place when actually upon the road, the cost of meals and lodg-

navigation was written to urge the advisability of government improvement of the western waters and its statements may, in general, be regarded as representing conditions of navigation at their best.

ings varied widely. In Illinois tavern charges were fixed by law, but there was a great diversity of price for entertainment throughout the West as a whole. The breakfasts offered were substantial and their cost varied from twenty-five cents to a dollar. The price most frequently charged was thirty-seven and a half cents. The average suppers varied from six and a quarter to fifty cents. Lodgings were secured at prices ranging from twelve and a half cents to one dollar, the average cost being twenty-seven and a half cents, bringing the cost of an average day to \$1.50 exclusive of stage fare. It is obviously impossible to accept the expenses of any single traveler as an exact measure of the cost of western travel; moreover, from the nature of things, the close economy which many western settlers were forced to practice was not necessary to Bishop Kemper. He was not, however, permitted to choose between luxury and economy in most of his expenditures. In general, he paid whatever price was charged for the only accommodations available, and for this reason his accounts are of value in estimating the expense of the average western traveler.

The Missionary Bishop was keenly alive to the pleasures of western travel, although this did not prevent a consciousness of its inconveniences. At the beginning of the railroad era, the numerous changes of cars, frequent collection of fares, the lack of heat and general comforts in the carriers,

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1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country, and the progress of the work during the year. It is divided into two main sections, the first of which deals with the general situation, and the second with the progress of the work.

2. The general situation of the country is described in the first section. It is found that the country is in a state of general prosperity, and that the progress of the work is satisfactory.

3. The progress of the work is described in the second section. It is found that the work has been carried out in accordance with the plan, and that the results are satisfactory.

4. The results of the work are described in the third section. It is found that the work has been carried out in accordance with the plan, and that the results are satisfactory.

5. The conclusions of the report are given in the fourth section. It is found that the work has been carried out in accordance with the plan, and that the results are satisfactory.

made the railroad an improvement upon the stage coach in little more than speed and regularity, but these advantages alone were blessings to an itinerant missionary. The continuous improvement of the railways and their extension during the fifties removed the discomfort of travel. The transition of the West was hastened from youth to stolid middle age; and with the iron horse, the element of the difficult and also of the picturesque was banished from itineracy in the Northwest Mission.

Chapter III.

The Planting of the Church in the Northwest Mission.

The real work in the northwest Mission could not be begun in 1836. The few weeks of that year remaining after the missionary Bishop and his friend, ^{Reverend} Mr. S. R. Johnson, had reached the field gave opportunity for a brief reconnaissance and no more. In the following year, however, the northwest mission came into actual being.

In Indiana parishes began to take form immediately.
¹
 Madison, Indiana, secured a clergyman in January and began a troublous existence for there was from the first a nucleus of contention in the Madison parish. The low church rector from Virginia in a high church congregation found his stay very uncomfortable in the little town, and was prepared to leave before the year was out. His successors, seven in number, fared no better than the first incumbent, and it was finally found necessary to abandon the station until some of the factious elements should be removed, and the church could be refounded at that important location. In February, General Evans donated a lot for the church at Evansville, A parish in Michigan City was organized in March. Vincennes, Shelbyville, and Logansport were appointed in the spring as
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 stations of the Domestic Committee. Hopes were sanguine for the rapid extension of parishes about the state.

1. Charlotte Leonard to Bp. Kemper Jan. 26, 1836, Wis. Mss. 15089.

2. Proc. of Board of Missions, 1836, p. 41.

The problem of establishing the Episcopal church in Missouri centered about St. Louis where a congregation was already organized. Bishop Kemper had accepted the position of rector of this parish, Christ Church, St. Louis, before his departure from the East. The church in Missouri had been receiving aid from the missionary society since 1823,³ and the parish at St. Louis had been thus enabled to erect the first and only Episcopal church building in the state. The Bishop reached his headquarters in December, 1835, and spent the Christmas season in making the acquaintance of his new parishioners. Rev. Peter Minard had arrived a few weeks before him to act as his assistant in Christ Church during his frequent and protracted absences.

A brief trip up the Mississippi in the early spring of 1836⁴ was followed by a visitation of the northeastern corner of Missouri and the valley of the Missouri river. At this time the Bishop preached at Boonville, Fayette, Columbia and St. Charles. St. Charles⁵ was immediately named as a mission station. There were not a sufficient number of communicants in the place, however, to form a parish and the services of a missionary were not obtained until December. The region about Palmyra, in the northern section of the state, appeared to offer possibilities although the towns in that quarter of the Mississippi valley were regarded as strongholds of Presbyterianism, and the Methodists were also firmly established in the vicinity.⁶ Boonville was likewise selected

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4. Vide *supra*, p.

note 7

5. Bp. Kemper to B. Dorr, May 21, 1836, Kemper Ms. Letter Bk.

6. Kemper Ms. Diary, April 3, 1836.

as a promising field. Nothing could be done, however, without missionaries and no supply was forthcoming from the east. In vain did the missionary Bishop solicit for workers in Missouri. Each promise of success ended in disappointment.

The example of other denominations, notably the Presbyterians, suggested a remedy for this difficulty in a theological college. The Bishop was encouraged in this scheme by the leaders of the New York Episcopal Theological Seminary. In August, 1836, the Domestic Committee gave its approval to the tentative plan for a college in Missouri.⁷ Bishop Kemper hurried east in the fall to discuss the matter with leading churchmen, and to raise funds for an initial endowment. With the assistance of friends in New York and Philadelphia, \$20,000⁸ were raised in twenty days. Upon his return to St. Louis a meeting was called on November 28, and definite plans were outlined for an institution to be named Missouri College. Many of the most influential

7. Kemper Ms. Diary, Aug. 3, 1836.

8. Spirit of Missions, 3, p. 8. (1838)
A letter of Nov. 20 1836 from Philadelphia speaks of this donation,—"I have often thought how fortunate you were in raising the \$20,000 as from the present state of things in relation to money matters, I doubt whether the same thing could be done under existing circumstances.

and wealthy men of St. Louis were secured as trustees, and a charter was forwarded to the legislature for approval.

There were three Episcopal clergymen in Missouri beside the Bishop by the end of 1836. Boonville, Palmyra, St. Charles and Fayette had been appointed as mission stations. The missionary stationed at St. Charles was able to start a subscription for \$1000 for a church building, which however was not successfully filled for a number of years.

The affairs of the proposed college and an introduction to the labors of the mission field consumed the entire year of 1836. It was not until June of the following year that Bishop Kemper was able to undertake the first thorough visitation of his mission. For this purpose he began with Indiana. From Vincennes he proceeded up the Wabash and back to Vincennes whence he worked inland through the southern towns.

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9. Bishop Kemper described this body to Mr. P. Stagg of New York, Secretary of the Domestic Committee. "Mr. Tracy I believe is well known in New York where he has a brother who gave Mr. Ward and myself \$100. He with Messrs. Herr Von Phul and Doan rank among the most respectable merchants of the city, Mr. Spalding is one of the first lawyers of the Place. Mr. English is likewise a lawyer. Mr. Hough is a notary and secretary of an Insurance company Mr. Clark is son of the general who was fellow traveller with Lewis and who has been for many yrs agent for Indian affairs in this city. Mr. Minard is my excellent and devoted assistant. Dr. Hoffman is one of our most worthy citizens originally from N. Y. and is in extensive business as a druggist. Col. Laville is a master builder. Capt. Symington commands the U. S. arsenal in the neighborhood Jefferson Barracks Mr. Cox was for some years cashier of the Branch Bank of the U.S. Mr. Hunt is the postmaster and the hero of Astoria. Mr. Nash is one of the judges of the supreme court of this State. Gen. Ashley has been for some yrs. a member of congress and Mr. Jabine is a manufacturer. Those marked thus are communicants.

The financial crisis which affected the country at large, in 1837, was not yet reflected in the towns of Indiana. Richmond, it was reported, was a flourishing little city in a fertile and populous country. There were nearly forty persons attached to the Episcopal Church in that parish. A clergyman, Rev. G. P. Waldo, had gratuitously employed himself there, but ill health prevented his remaining, and the Rev. George Fiske was ready to settle in the town as soon as Mr. Waldo should withdraw. Jeffersonville was growing rapidly, and was expecting to put up one hundred houses in the immediate future. New Albany had organized a parish and secured a rector and had promised something toward his support. Evansville was growing, especially from the German immigration, and an influx of new comers was pouring into Madison. Madison, however, still struck a discordant note in the harmonious prosperity of the future diocese.

Indianapolis had secured the services of Rev. J. B. Bretton, a buoyant young clergyman from Kentucky. The parish had pledged him \$400 a year and he was enthusiastic over the prospects of the church in that vicinity. A contract for a lot to cost \$1000, payable in two years without interest, had been secured, and in two days the congregation had raised about \$700 to meet the payment due upon this contract.

a St. Claire to Bp June 2, 1837
 10. Bretton to Kemper, Wis. Mss. 17 083
 4

In his journey through the north of Indiana Bishop Kemper was particularly impressed with Michigan City. "The plan of the city is almost as large as that of New York", he wrote, "and we sometimes have to pass through woods to go from one house to another. It has 1500 inhabitants and is not yet 4 years old. The stumps as
11.
you may suppose are yet standing in the streets. A subscription falling short of \$2500 had been taken for an Episcopal Church in Michigan City but aid would be needed from abroad before the plan could be realized as it was acknowledged in the town that the times were beginning to be very hard in that section of the state. Terre Haute, the Bishop wrote, was the prettiest village in the West, and its society was really excellent.

With favorable conditions upon every hand, a convocation was called at Crawfordsville on the ninth and tenth of June, 1837. It was not well attended as the missionary who was temporarily stationed at Madison had not the ready money for stage fare while the clergyman from Evansville could procure a seat in the stage. Mr. Britton from Indianapolis, Rev. Ashbel Stelle of New Albany and the Bishop's friend, Mr. S. R. Johnson who had settled a Lafayette met with the missionary Bishop. It was resolved at this convocation to apply to the legislature for a charter allowing the church to be organized, and to make an endeavor to establish an Episcopal college
12.
in Indiana.

11. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, August 5, 1837,
Wis. Mss. 17G130.

Proceedings of Convention
12. Wis. Mss. 17H90.

No such noticeable advancement could be recorded for Missouri in 1837. Here the Bishop's efforts were confined rather closely to the vicinity of St. Louis. After it had been settled that the new college should be located on the outskirts of the city, the demands of the metropolis grew even more exacting than before. The work of construction on the college buildings was put under way in 1837. Christ Church parish meanwhile had grown so rapidly during 1836 that the existing building was no longer large enough, and the Bishop had the gratification of laying the corner stone of a new building in May, 1837.

In spite of the manifold demands upon Bishop Kemper's attention, however, he found time in the fall and winter of 1837 for a rapid tour of Missouri officiating at St. Charles, Fayette, Boonville and Independence.^{13.} A notice had been received that some wealthy Episcopalian^s from Virginia had settled at Buffalo Knob in Pike County. They represented themselves as surrounded by Methodists and Campbellite Baptists whose ministrations they did not enjoy.^{14.} *Bishop* He made a detour to their settlement, naming the locality as a station. Independence and Fulton were also added to the list, but few of the stations were regularly supplied with services.

Colonel Kearney at Fort Leavenworth urged the missionary Bishop to make a trip to that post. This invitation was seconded by Bishop Kemper's own ardent desire to visit the Indians in that vicinity. In December, 1837, therefore, accompanied by Mr. Peake, the missionary

13. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper. Nov. 10, & Nov. 22, 1837, Wis. Mss. 18G30, 33.

14. *R.K.* Moade to Bp. Kemper June 6, 1837, Wis. Mss. 17G
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at Fayette, he set out across the state border for Leavenworth. This
 15 journey was an interesting one, but was without any real significance for the Church. In the western towns he found few Episcopalians, but also he found few missionaries of any denomination and many of the settlers were eager for services of some kind. The Shawnee, Delaware and Kickapoo Indians whom he went especially to see were found to be adequately served by the Baptists and Methodists. The rumor was confirmed, however, that further to the south in the Indian country the Seneca Indians desired Episcopal ministrations, and had even preserved Episcopal forms of worship retained since their residence in New York state. Opportunity was not given to visit the Seneca at this time as the affairs of the college and the mission recalled the Bishop to St. Louis immediately.

The early months of 1838 were occupied by an extended visitation through the southern states which Bishop Kemper undertook at the request of Bishop Otey of Tennessee, returning to St. Louis by the middle of May. On June 9, he was again in Indiana for a convocation which was held at Evansville. The Missionary Bishop and four clergymen were present. Five other clergymen canonically resident in the State were unable to attend. It was decided that a Primary Convention should be held at Madison on August 24, to complete the organization of the
 16. diocese.

15. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Nov. 22, Nov. 24, 1837, Wis. Mss. 18033 and 34.

16. Wis. Mss. 17074 and 75.

It was the Bishop's intention to attend this convention on his return from his first tour through Wisconsin. The missionary jurisdiction had been extended in 1836 to include all territory north of 36½ degrees, and the clergy in the then newly formed territory of Wisconsin were urging the Missionary Bishop to extend his oversight to their parishes. He had already visited Davenport, Bloomington and Dubuque in Iowa Territory, being impressed with the promise of the country and the opportunity it offered for the extension of the church. Nothing was done, however, to found parishes there. The demand for Episcopal services was not so insistent as that from Wisconsin and in several places notably about Keokuk and Dubuque, the conflicting ^{and} unsettled land claims seemed to make the country an unpropitious field for continuous effort.
17.

The invitation from Wisconsin was pressed most urgently by Rev. Richard Cadle. This pioneer Episcopalian had been moved from the Green Bay Indian mission to Navarino and Fort Howard. The Episcopal jurisdiction over Wisconsin was claimed in 1836 by Bishop McCoskry of Michigan on the basis of the inclusion of the Indian missions of Wisconsin in the original diocese of Michigan at the time of its formation in 1834. This conflict of claims prevented Bishop Kemper from visiting the northern territory before 1838 when the question was settled in his favor by the general Convention. Before that time Episcopalian settlers in Wisconsin were adding their individual appeals to those of the energetic little missionary from Navarino. Before the Bishop could effect his visitation Mr. Cadle was transferred to the Prairie du ^{des} Chiens in the

17. Que. History of Iowa I p. 150 sq.
Kemper Ms. Diary, April 1, 1844.

Mississippi ^{river} Territory and was ready to greet the Bishop upon his entrance to the Territory in 1838.

Prairie du Chien was composed of several strata of settlement formed by the old French village upon a sandbar and the newer settlements of middle and newtown. Old town was the site of the American Fur Company's establishment and Fort Crawford the United States military post was located just beyond Newtown. The town contained some 1200 inhabitants of whom about one third were English.^{18.} The Methodists and Presbyterians already held itinerent service at this place, but the presence of some ten to twenty Episcopalians gave the nucleus for an Episcopal parish. From Prairie du Chien Mr. Cadle had extended his offices to Mineral Point, Cassville, and Lancaster,^{19.} officiating also in the garrison at Fort Crawford. Cassville and Prairie du Chien were organized before the Bishop's visitation. Save for these parishes and the Indian mission there were no Episcopal congregations in Wisconsin before 1838, but the prospects seemed bright for a flourishing diocese.

Bishop Kemper set out for his journey through Wisconsin by boat from St. Louis to Galena, Illinois in the late summer of 1838. At Galena Rev. E. G. Gear was located. Mr. Gear was glad to accompany the Bishop on his northern trip and the two took stage from Galena for Mineral Point, Wisconsin, where they were met by Mr. Cadle. The party

18. Spirit of missions 3, p. 37 (1838) and Kemper Ms. Diary. July 20, 1838.

19. Spirit of Missions 3, p. 168 294. (1838)

then proceeded on a tour through Cassville, Prairie du Chien,
 20
 Fort Winnebago and Green Bay.

Wisconsin was the first field which the Episcopal Church entered abreast of popular settlement and even here it was behind the more aggressive missionary denominations. The church in this section, however, had a readier chance of winning converts than in the more completely preoccupied portions of the mission field. Every settlement offered possibilities. Mineral Point was found to be a dingy town surrounded by diggings. It was said to have 1000 inhabitants. The service was solemnized in the log outhouse which
 21.
 served also as a school room. Cassville and Prairie du Chien had been prepared for the visit by Mr. Cadle. Nothing had been done at Madison City, the new capital of the territory. In fact, there were few professors of religion in that town, but the reception given the Bishop was so gratifying that he resolved at once to station a mis-
 22
 sionary at the place if one could be obtained. The desired workers could not be found, however, in 1838. By the close of the year the church claimed nine stations in the territory, all of which were vacant except Prairie du Chien, the Indian Missions, and the newly organized
 23.
 parish at Milwaukee.

20. Bp. Kemper to S. R. Johnson, Aug. 15, 1838,
 Wis. Mss. 19G126.

21. Kemper Mss. Diary, July 26, 1838.

22. Kemper Ms. Diary, July 30, 1838.

23. The stations were Prairie du Chien-Rev. Richard
 Cadle- Duck Creek (Oneida) Rev. Solomon Davis;
 Green Bay; Milwaukee Rev. W. Hull; Navarino,
 Mineral Point, Madison, Cassville and Portage
 (Ft. Winnebago). Proc. of Brd. of Missions.
 1838, p. 42 sq.

The Bishop was detained in Wisconsin by bad roads and was therefore unable to be present at the Primary Convention of Indiana. Six clergymen attended this convention with lay delegates from New Albany, Madison, Indianapolis, Richmond, and Crawfordville. A diocese was formed and a memorial was framed for the General Convention which was to meet in September, 1838, requesting admission into union with the Episcopal Church, and the continued
24.
services of the Missionary Bishop.

The work of the Episcopal Church in Indiana during 1838 and 1839 was generally in the direction of extending existing parishes, and the erection of church buildings. All of the usual methods for raising money were employed. The effects of the panic began to show themselves in the operations of these years, but in spite of obstacles and embarrassments the Bishop was able to consecrate churches in Lafayette, Indianapolis and Madison in the fall of
25.
1838. The northern section of the state developed materially in population during 1838 and 1839, and new parishes were organized in the latter year at Fort Wayne and Mishawaka. South Bend, Goshen, Bristol and Elkhart attracted the attention of the Church at this
26.
time. Evansville, which had progressed but slowly, began at last to show the results of the continued labors of Rev. A. H. Lemon, and

24. Journal of Primary Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church in Indiana, 1838. pp. 4, 5.

25. Second Annual Convention Episc. Church in Ind. 1839, p. 20 sq.

26. Spirit of Missions 4, p. 69 (1839)

the corner stone of a brick building 40 x 70 feet, was laid in the summer of 1839.

Ill health and the difficulties of the parish had compelled the withdrawal of Rev. Henry Caswall from Madison in September, 1838, and he was succeeded by Rev. J. P. Nash and Rev. William Mitchell, neither of whom remained for any length of time. December, 1839, found Rev. Willard Presbury in charge of that difficult cure. Mr. Presbury believed that much of the discontent in Madison was due to the location of the church building.^{27.} A vote discovered that a majority of the congregation wished the edifice to be moved to a more convenient place, but the suggestion was met by the threat from certain members of the vestry to foreclose upon the building if such an attempt were made. In this situation, a new vestry was elected, but the old vestry refused to retire. Mr. Presbury with a large following finally determined to withdraw from the church, and a new parish called Trinity Church was organized. The vestry of Christ Church parish locked the secessionists out of the Episcopal building and attempted to withhold the funds of the Domestic Committee which were due Mr. Presbury.^{28.} The Bishop attempted to make peace, but irritation had become too widespread, and the quarrel ended in 1840 by the resignation of Mr. Presbury and his departure from Indiana.

27. Mr. Presbury to Bp. Kemper, Dec. 9, 1839,
Wis. Mss. 22G12.

28. W. Presbury to Bp. Kemper 22G23 and 27.

Dec 20, 1839, Dec 24, 1839

The Annual Convention which met in June, 1839, reported eleven clergymen employed in the diocese of Indiana and eight parishes upon the convention list. One new parish was admitted. The largest parishes in the diocese were at Indianapolis and Madison, which numbered twenty eight communicants each. The smallest, composed of four communicants, was at Mishawaka. The stations of Terre Haute, Lawrenceburgh, Vincennes, Loganport, Mishawaka, Crawfordsville, and Bristol were²⁹ destitute of clerical services.

Missouri, meanwhile, was developing more slowly. In 1837, the parish at St. Louis had not only outgrown its physical accommodations but its unity as well. By the end of 1838 a new parish was proposed and many of the younger members of Christ Church parish were eager to form the new congregation. This was not effectively organized, however, until 1840. Mr. Peake was transferred from Fayette to Boonville, which had been his original station when he came to the West in 1837, but Mr. Babbit had been filling the station during the greater part of 1837. Mr. Babbit left the missionary field, however in March of 1838. From Boonville Mr. Peake gave itinerant services at Fayette, Fulton, Rochefort and Mount Forest. Mr. Hedges who had been secured for Palmyra succeeded in completing a church (St. Paul) at the latter station in 1839, and the subject of erecting one at³⁰ Hannibal was under consideration.

29. Proc. of Board of Missions, 1839, p. 37.

30. Spirit of Missions 4 p. 74 (1839).

There were only ten communicants in Hannibal but the town was increasing in population and Mr. Hedges had hopes of success. St. Charles, on the other hand, had failed noticeably. The missionary, Mr. Fitch, had returned to the East, and the congregation had become dispersed. The \$1000 subscription was impossible of collection on account of
 31.
 numerous failures, removals and deaths, and the station remained vacant. Indeed, for the greater part of 1838 and 1839 five out of
 32.
 the nine stations upon the missionary lists remained unsupplied.

The difficulty of procuring missionaries was increased by the necessity of securing teachers and professors for the Missionary College which began its active career in 1838. Missouri College had been selected as its name. Bishop Kemper was deeply chagrined at an unexpected change in this title. The state legislature refused to incorporate a denominational institution under this name, fearing a conflict with a future State University and without consulting the Bishop the trustees changed the name to Kemper College. The main building, an edifice 75 feet in length and three stories high was ready for occupation
 33.
 in 1838. Upon October 15, Mr. Minard, the Bishop's assistant in Christ Church, opened the preparatory department. A faculty of three took up their labors under Mr. Minard's supervision. The Chentille of the school was not large but the plans for its development were comprehensive.

32. Ibid 5, p.39 (1840)

32. The stations in 1839 were Boonville, Mr. F. F. Peake, Palmyra and Hannibal, Rev. C. S. Hedges, Fayette, St. Charles, Fulton, Independence, Buffalo Knob and Upper St. Louis. Proceedings of the Board of Missions 1839, p. 42.

33.

Wis. Mss. 24G2

In November the Bishop was able to turn his attention for a time from the affairs of the College and the mission in order to carry out his plan of visiting the Seneca Indians southwest of Missouri. On this journey he stopped at St. Charles, Fulton, Boonville, Fayette, and Columbia, preaching, confirming and baptizing as³⁴ he went. The journey to the Indian country was taken in company with Mr. Henry Gregory who had been transferred to Missouri earlier in the year, but had not yet definitely assumed a station. The travellers left Boonville on horseback on November 13, and after a cold ride of 181 miles with such chance accommodations as could be found they reached³⁵ Sarcoux on the state border on the eighteenth. Here the Bishop preached to some twenty persons who had gathered in a log cabin to hear him. Few of the congregation had ever heard the Episcopal form of service. On November 20, the house of Major Calloway, the Indian Agent, was reached. The Agent promised a meeting with the Seneca chiefs in council to consider with them the question of an Episcopal mission. The Seneca finally refused the offers from the Church, however, and the question of activity³⁶ among the Indians was again postponed. This decision was a distinct disappointment to the missionary Bishop, but it was doubtless a blessing in disguise, as the work among the whites was sufficiently pressing to strain the resources of the Missionary Society to the utmost, and the seal for domestic missions was not increasing during opening years of the forties.

34. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Nov. 12, 1838,
Wis. Mss. 20G62.

35. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Nov. 19, 1838,
Wis. Mss. 20G72.

36. Henry Gregory to Bp. Kemper, Mar. 13, 1839,
Wis. Mss. 21G10.

New districts were being opened to settlement and the population of the thinly settled districts was increasing. Increased activity was continually demanded upon the part of the church if it was to accomplish any real results in the western mission field. In many cases such activity was impossible because of the limited supply of workers. On this account almost nothing had been done to meet the needs of Iowa. In 1838, Mr. J. Balchelder, an Illinois clergyman, had offered himself for that territory and was stationed at Burlington in the following year. Dubuque, Burlington, Madison, and Davenport had been named as stations but had remained vacant. Mr. Gear was transferred in 1838 from Galena, Illinois, to Fort Snelling in the St. Peters Precinct of Iowa Territory. About the military post the traders and missionaries had gathered and St. Peters was becoming an important point in the Indian reserve.³⁷ All the religious denominations were laboring among the northern Indians and Mr. Gear's employment as chaplain at the post enabled him to act for the Episcopalians in this quarter.

In Wisconsin the dearth of laborers was particularly important. Mr. Noble who had officiated a few months at Milwaukee withdrew in September, 1838. His removal and the reduction of the Indian Missions³⁸ at Green Bay and Duck Creek which had been ordered in 1837 left the Territory even more destitute than before. Mr. Richard Cadle accepted the post as chaplain at Fort Crawford. He still labored, however, at

37. Holcomb, R. I. Minnesota in Three Centuries, II p. 235, 244. E. G. Gear to Bp. Kemper, Wis. Mss. 20052.

38. Spirit of Missions. 2 p (1837).

Prairie du Chien, Cassville, Mineral Point, Ft. Winnebago and Madison and even extended his services to Dubuque, but his work among the soldiers soon became too pressing to permit such an extended circuit. 39.

In June 1839 a missionary was secured for Madison. He had been received into the church from the Methodist ministry. His abilities were not of the kind to rouse popular enthusiasm, and he was not optimistic regarding his new charge. "Our town contains professors of religion, five presbyterians, three Lutherans, one Camelite, and three Methodists, several having recently removed. The presbyterians and two congregationalists are endeavouring to get a clergyman of their own 40. persuasion," he wrote some time after his arrival. The Bishop, however, was convinced that there were brilliant prospects for the church in Madison. He had been led to believe that a majority of the inhabitants (and Madison contained some 400 persons) preferred the Church. He hoped also that the missionary at this point would be able to officiate occasionally at Beloit, Jamesville, Blue Mounds and Astalén.

The station at Milwaukee was filled in the fall of 1838. The services were held in a small school room. The members of the parish 41 were still embarrassed on account of the speculations of 1836, and were able to give little financial aid to the church. Rev. F. B. Hull, the

39. Ibid 4 p. 381 (1839)

40. Philo to Bp. Kemper. April 1840, Wis. Mss. 22G122

41. Spirit of Missions. 4, p. 380 (1839).

new missionary, did not confine himself to his immediate field. During 1839 he preached at Southport ^{now} (Kenosha) Racine, Prairie-
42. ville, Elk Creek and Beloit. Southport and Racine seemed to him especially promising. In Southport a congregation of some twenty families desired Episcopal services. Several possibilities for the supply of this prospective parish were suggested. In July 1840, Mr. Allanson was put in charge of this station but his stay was made uncomfortable on account of his refusal to take a definite stand upon the temperance question, and his failure to work harmoniously with one of his dominating parishioners.

In the lead region attempts were made-notably by Mr. Cadle-to rouse an interest among the Welsh and English miners. Some success was attained and a small parish was organized at Mineral Point in 1839. The singing of the Welshmen added much to the popularity of the services. In the main, however, the miners were found to be either indifferent to religious services or interested in Methodism or Catholicism. Mr. Benjamin Eaton was secured for the parish late in 1839. He was not at
43. first favorably impressed with the town or the people, and was therefore, pleased to accept a call to Green Bay which was proffered in April, 1840. On April 5, this northern parish had completed a new church building, free from debt, and hastened to extend a call to Mr. Eaton, fearing that a clergyman might be imposed upon them by Bishop McCoskry of Michigan. They offered Mr. Eaton \$300 above his expenses, and the station was also

42. Hull to Ep. Kemper, Jan. 1840, Wis. Mss. 22G41.

43. In December 1839 he wrote to Ep. Kemper,—"The appearance of the town, the uncomfortable home into which I was thrown, the rough profane set I met at table. *** all contribute to make me wish myself any place but here." Wis. Mss. 22G14.

44. put upon the missionary list. Undesirable as the location at Mineral Point had seemed to this volatile clergyman, Green Bay was even less to his taste, and the hustling life in the lead region grew more attractive in the retrospect as he realized the restricted interests of the northern town.^{45.} He was glad to return to Mineral Point in 1840 and, later, was among those who sought fortune in the Republic of Texas.

In September 1840, a convocation of the clergy of Wisconsin was held in Milwaukee. There were eleven regular stations within the Territory and only four were vacant.^{46.} The business of the convocation was relatively simple. It was determined that it was inexpedient to form a diocese at this time. The question of a theological school for Wisconsin was seriously considered. The property of the Green Bay Mission which was finally closed in 1839, had been taken over by a college called Wisconsin University. This institution had Episcopal affiliations but did not take the place of a training school. An Englishman owning

44. *A. G. Ellis* to Bp. Kemper, *April 5, 1840*
Wis. Mss. 22 G 108.

45. Early in the summer of 1839, Mr. Eaton wrote to the Bishop, "Less business and less money here than perhaps any place I was ever in. I see nothing to support this town except they procure an appropriation for opening the navigation of the Fox river, which is not likely they can do at present." Wis. Mss. 22 G 154.

46. Portage, Cassville, Madison and Green Bay were unsupplied.

large tracts of land in the west was willing to make a donation for
 47.
 a college, but the terms were not entirely satisfactory. The
 Bishop was insistent, however, upon a local training school for the
 clergy.

During 1840 a plan was maturing among a small group
 of the students of the New York Theological Seminary to undertake a
 community mission under Bishop Kemper's direction. This plan would
 permit the economy of community life and the inspiration of a reli-
 48,
 gious order. It combined the best features of Methodist itineracy
 with those of a Jesuit mission. The plan met with disfavor and
 ridicule from many of the eastern Bishops and the number of the little
 brotherhood was reduced to three before they were ready for active
 49.
 service. Bishop Kemper who knew the needs of his mission more per-
 fectly than did his eastern colleagues realized the value of such an
 effort and selected Wisconsin as the field for the venture.

In Missouri, meanwhile, Kemper College had fairly begun
 its career. A president, Rev. S. A. Brane, had been secured in April,
 1839, and the college year opened in the fall with a faculty of three
 50.
 beside the President and with the assistance of the clergy of St. Louis.

47. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Dec. 18, 1843,
 Wis. Mss. 28 G 28. Vide notes 110 & 111.

48. Breck, Life of James Lloyd Breck, p. 8.

49. Ibid, pp. 14 sq.

50.

At this time there were three clergymen beside the Bishop in the city. Mr. Minary had withdrawn from Christ Church and accepted the charge of a new parish - St. Paul's - which had been formed. Mr. Peake had been transferred from Boonville in 1839 to become rector of Christ Church. At this time the Bishop definitely withdrew from that position. A young deacon, Rev. Whiting Griswold, assisted Mr. Peake, and all of these were pressed into the service of the college. The institution contained a grammar school and a college department. It opened with twenty-three students in attendance.⁵⁴ Plans for enlargement were begun immediately. Difficulties developed during the first year, however. Friction in the faculty made itself apparent at once. Charges and counter charges were launched, and appeals from both sides were laid before the Bishop. The consensus of opinion seemed to find the root of the trouble in the conduct of the President's wife. She was a woman of strong character and determination, and was not content with a Pauline silence within the churches. In fact she outraged the sensibilities of the entire communion by even conducting college classes in the Romance languages. Bishop Kemper frequently found that Episcopal discipline of the clergy demanded the highest tact, but the discipline of the wives of the clergy was absolutely beyond diocesan control. The animus which developed out of this situation and its manifold complication found vent in scathing accusations concerning college ad-

54. Gibbs to Bp. Kemper, July 6, 1840,
Wis. Mss. 23 G 9.

ministration, and indeed the college, never absolutely free^{52.} from debt, was becoming deeply involved. Relations grew strained and humiliating and the President was glad to withdraw in 1841.

A number of the outlying missionary stations remained unfilled during 1839 and 1840 and the personnel of the Missouri clergy was continually changing. The Primary convention for the organization of the diocese was called in November, 1840.^{53.} At that time eight Episcopal clergymen were located in the state. Mr. Hedges had become the chaplain at Jefferson Barracks, a military post below St. Louis, increasing the preponderance of clerical services in and about the city. ^{Isaac} Mr. Smith was working against discouraging indifference at St. Charles. Mr. Homan was located at Jefferson City, the Capital of the state. He was the only clergyman in the town. From this center he extended his services to Fulton and also worked among the prisoners in the state penitentiary located near the Capital. Hannibal and Palmyra which had been left vacant by the removal of Mr. Hedges to Jefferson Barracks were supplied by Rev. T. E. Paine, while Rev. J. D. Mead was stationed at Boonville which Mr. Peake had vacated upon

52. In 1838 the Bishop wrote that he needed \$2000 for the college. Some part of this was raised. In 1839 \$1000 was still due on the land and something was due upon the improvements. In March 1840, the indebtedness on the running expenses was \$1988.59. By 1841 the debts had gathered alarmingly. Mss. 20 G 9. Letter Book V. June 24, 1839.

53. Hemper Ms. Diary, Mar. 16, 1840.

his removal to St. Louis. 7

no TP

The visitation of the state in November and December 1840, gave the Bishop some encouragement for the future, but it was obvious that the church had little strength outside of St. Louis itself.

The Church in Iowa developed but slowly during this period. Mr. Batchelder at Burlington worked faithfully but with slight success. He was poorly fitted to meet the demands of a new 54. community. Two other clergymen entered the field at Davenport and Bloomington but they accomplished nothing and soon left the territory.

Wisconsin, however, was prospering. The Associated Mission which had been planned began to occupy the attention of the Missionary Bishop in 1841. The members had completed their organization in the preceding year. Mr. Cadle had been selected as Superior of the Mission and John Hobart, the son of the former Bishop of New York, James Lloyd Breck, and Henry Adams were brethren of the order. 58. The young men took vows of celibacy during the period of their connection with the mission which relation, however, could be severed after a proper notification had been given. Their house was to be a school and monastery in one and from it they were to work into all parts of the state, holding services, founding schools, organizing parishes, and engaging in house to house visitations. The support of the mission was to be from the labor of the inmates and gifts of the 56. church. With these ideals in view work had been begun.

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54. Kemper Ms. Diary Nov. 2, 1840.

55. Breck, Life of Breck, p. 18 sq.

56. J. L. Breck to Bp. Kemper, May 11, 1843, Wis. Mss. 27072.

Prairieville had been selected as the site of the mission. Here they erected a habin large enough for their temporary accommodation. James Lloyd Breck who became at once a leading spirit reported immediately that five or six young men had expressed a desire to take theological training if their expenses could be defrayed.^{57.} For this purpose land was to be put under cultivation as a mission farm where students could earn their expenses - which were very light - by three and a half hours of labor a day. Henry Adams was the most efficient member of the brotherhood in the training of students, but his sympathy with the monastic principle upon which the institution was based was less ardent than that of his colleagues and absolute harmony was not always present in the order. By 1842, the accommodations had been enlarged but the entire expense of the mission did not amount to more than twelve dollars to fifteen dollars a fortnight, including the food and housing of several men and the provision and stabling of two horses.^{58.}

During the first year the brethren founded a parish, St. Johns, in the wilderness at Elkhart and revived St. Luke's parish at Racine. They conducted services each Sunday outside the

57. Spirit of Missions 7 p. 136 (1842)

58. J. Hobart to Bp. Kemper, Dec. 18, 1841, 25 G 121.

bounds of their own mission, preparing eighty-eight candidates for confirmation, while at the mission itself, they had gathered together a congregation of some fifty-two communicants.^{59.}

The Frairieville mission soon came to be known as Nashotah. Its increased activities caused an enlargement of its plans. Especial attention was given to the foreign settlers of Wisconsin. Two hundred Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, originally Lutheran, had settled about Pine Lake and had petitioned to be admitted into the Episcopal Church. They asked to be allowed to conduct the services in Scandinavian and wished their pastor, Mr. Unonius, to be ordained as their clergyman. The Nashotah missionaries urged the acceptance of this proposal and the Bishop finally^{60.} consented to admit the new parish in the church. A Norwegian settlement at Jefferson Prairie was easily won over to the church and an English settlement at Eagle Prairie was eager to grasp the^{61.} opportunity of services from the Frairieville brethren.

The clergy throughout the church occasionally made merry at what they termed the devotional excesses of the inmates of Nashotah but it is certain that the strength of the Church in

59. Spirit of Missions 7, p 134 (1842)
 60 Adams to Bp Kumpfer May 31, 1842. biomes 2696
 Kumpfer to Adams Jan 8, 1844 : Feb 25, 1844;
 Mar 24, 1844.

Wisconsin was increased remarkably by their energetic devotion. By 1843, however, several readjustments had become necessary. Mr. Cadle who professed to be "not in the slightest degree Oxfordized" had been too long a frontier missionary to accept the spirit of a regulated brotherhood and had withdrawn from the order early in 1842. Mr. Adams also withdrew because of personal difficulties with Mr. Breck whose indomitable will was the moulding force of the institution. Mr. Breck and Mr. Hobart were thus left to carry out the undertaking and it was not long before the task was assigned to Mr. Breck alone.

In 1844, students were admitted into the mission as lay brethren. A farmer had been added to the mission force to act as superintendent of the student laborers while his wife looked after their welfare.^{62.} By this time an efficient day school had been built up which was one of the most forceful branches of the mission activities.

The Bishop was preparing to withdraw from Missouri in 1843 and hoped to take up his residence in Wisconsin where he could watch the development of Nashotah. Progress of the church in Missouri during 1841 and 1842 had varied, but the strength of the parishes in St. Louis was sufficient to offset failures in other sections.

62. Kemper Ms. Diary Feb. 13. 1844.

63

These city parishes were heavily in debt, but were growing in numbers and influence/

The needs of Kemper College were more imperative than those of the diocese. After some difficulty following Mr. Crane's resignation in 1841, a new President, Mr. B. H. Hutchinson of Vermont had been secured to begin his term of office in the fall of that year. Thirty two students were in attendance in the grammar school and eight in the college. The faculty consisted of the president, a professor of Latin and Greek, a tutor in mathematics, a teacher of French, and three prefects. Mr. Peake, the rector of Christ Church, lectured on rhetoric and Belles Lettres. A department of theology and one in medicine took form under the direction of the new president. Professor Caswall was put in charge of the former and Dr. McDowell of St. Louis of the latter. By January 1843, Dr. McDowell had forty-three medical students in his department.

63. In 1841 Christ Church had an indebtedness of \$20,000, St. Pauls of \$5000. A new congregation was organized during the year by Mr. Griswold. The Bishop hoped this last effort would stimulate the old vestrie to fresh activity. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Dec. 22, 1841, Wis. Mss. 25 G 12.

64. Spirit of Missions, 6, p. 86 (1841)

65. Kemper Ms. Diary, Jan. 10, 1842.

The original building had been enlarged under Dr. Crane's administration by two wings each seventy-five feet in length. The entire institution including this main building, and the president's house and outbuildings was encumbered with mortgages. A debt was still due upon the land and the running expenses had forced the college to become so heavily involved that suits were liable at any time. ^{66.} It was proposed that the Bishop and President Hutchinson take up \$10000 of the debt. In the spring of 1843, the President was to take up the most pressing mortgage of \$4000 and the trustees were to repay him for his loan and the back salary due him at 6 % interest. This relieved ^{67.} the institution temporarily and in spite of troubled finances the future of the College looked bright.

Bishop Kemper had urged upon the diocese the necessity of securing a bishop of their own. With the increasing demands upon him from Wisconsin, Iowa and the upper Mississippi country, it seemed imperative to him that Missouri and Indiana should become independent of his mission. At the annual convention of Missouri in 1843, he impressed this gravely upon the clergy. The missionary

^{66.} Bishop Kemper reported to New York in 1842,-
 "Debts in Jan'y 9334.97 - of this sum for land
 and interest 2600 - two wings 2950 - Upton,
 Carpenter, 235.72 - two booksellers 471.47.
 West 422.87 - debts left by him 1500 - the
 balance (1154.86) small debts left by first
 President *** gathering interest - liable to
 be sued daily." April 19, 1842.- Diary Letter
 Book.

^{67.} Kemper Ms. Diary Dec. 6, 1842.

from Boonville was removed from the ministry during this year which left the clergy of Missouri short of the canonical number for electing a bishop, but their choice was expressed for Rev. Cicero Hawks of New York and the General Convention of 1844 confirmed their selection.^{68.}

Dr. Hawks promised to remain in the east after his consecration until he had obtained \$15000 for Kemper College. More unpleasantness had developed, meanwhile, in the internal relation of the school. President Hutchinson had identified himself so closely with the finances that it was almost inevitable that he should be involved in charges concerning its administration when hard feelings developed. These difficulties were intensified by even more distracting matters. Bishop Hawks was not fully aware of the extent of the College liabilities which, in fact, amounted to more than \$18,000. When he was finally confronted with the situation he closed the school in 1845 and allowed it to be sold for debt.^{69.}

The Church in Indiana had been reported as struggling but making general progress during 1841 and 1842. Bishop Kemper was continually urging the diocese to elect a bishop of their own. This suggestion was considered at the convention in May 1843 but it was dropped because of the weakness and poverty of the Episcopal parishes in the state. In November 1843, the Missionary Bishop called a special convention to urge the election of a bishop for

68.

69. Ep. Hawks to Ep. Kemper Aug. 22, 1845. Wis. Mss. 30 G 51.

Indiana. Ten of the clergy and nine lay delegates from the
 70. important parishes were present. The Convention admitted
 the church at Fort Wayne as a regular parish. The balloting
 for a bishop resulted in the election of Rev. Thomas Atkinson
 of Maryland with a salary of \$500 to be paid quarterly, and
 the privilege of accepting a cure. Dr. Atkinson refused the
 election and Bishop Kemper was forced to continue his ministra-
 tions in the state.

It was the opinion of the Convention of 1844 that
 the diocese was incompetent to elect a bishop at that time. A
 number of the clergy had left the state, and the church in In-
 71. diana was too poor and feeble to warrant such a step. The
 Episcopal Church was progressing in the northern portion of the
 state which was increasing in importance due to the success of the
 Wabash Erie Canal communications. There were ten resident clergy-
 men reported to the Convention. Five parishes were vacant. In-
 dianapolis remained unsupplied from 1840 until 1843, and the desti-
 tution at this important point was a great disadvantage to the
 Episcopal Church. A second Special Convention for the election of
 a bishop was called in September, 1844; but its hopes were not
 realized.

Proceed. of P. E. Church. Diocese of Ind. Sept 29, 1843.
 70. [^] Wis. Mss. 27 G 136.

71. Journal of General Convention, 1844, p. 59.

By 1845, the Missionary appropriations for Indiana had been reduced. The annual visitation of this year was a trying one to the Missionary Bishop. "I could in fact tell of daily annoyances, disappointments and trials", he wrote to his daughter, "and I begin to fear either that I am growing old or that my joyous
72. temperament is departing. The reappearance of the cholera which had swept the west for several years, and an epidemic of small pox made it a particularly hard year throughout the state. "The heat of
73. the weather, political and camp meetings etc" had prostrated New Harmony so that it was difficult for the Bishop to gather a congregation in that town. At Carlisle it was impossible to hold services at all. "We were assured that all the well persons in the town were
74. required to nurse the sick." At South Bend the smallpox prevented any public assemblies. The same was true of La Porte, and there was not sufficient water in the canal to permit a visit to Fort Wayne. The church at Michigan City was still prosperous, however, The Bishop pronounced it, "perhaps the best within the bounds of my Mission." There were twenty organized parishes reported in 1845; fifteen were supplied with clergymen, but there was a need of ten more men
75. before the Church could really extend in Indiana.

72. Bp. Kemper to E. Kemper, Oct. 11, 1845, Wis., Mes. 30 G 83.

73. Journ. of Eighth Annual Convention of Indiana, 1845, p. 8.

74. Journal of Eighth Annual Convent. of Indiana, p. 17.

75. Spirit of Missions, 10. p. 262 (1845).

Rev. S. R. Johnson was compelled to leave Indiana in 1846. This was a great blow to the Missionary Bishop. "I am deeply impressed with the feebleness of the Church in this diocese & its very precarious state", he wrote after hearing this news. The Annual Convention, held in 1846, again elected Rev. Dr. Atkinson to the Episcopate, but he again refused.^{76.} "It was exceedingly gratifying", the Bishop commented, "that in all the Ballotings - and there were several - not one vote was given for a low churchman. Two of those who were present - S. L. Johnson Indianapolis & Fairchild Logansport were graduates of Kenyon and one was from the Va. school."^{77.}

In 1847 twenty-two organized parishes in Indiana were reported but not more than six or seven maintained regular services. Rev. Samuel Bowman of Lancaster, Pennsylvania was elected to the Indiana episcopate by the Convention of this year; but he like Dr. Atkinson declined to accept the offer.^{78.}

The Church was not expanding in 1848; "And yet," the Bishop asserted after his annual visitation, "I perceive symptoms of growth, stability, and attachment which convince me that the diocese of Indiana will one day be large and strong."^{79.} Eighteen parishes possessed suitable places of worship. The fund for the support of the episcopate was raised, in 1848, to \$1000, and the Rev. Francis Vinton of New York was elected by the Annual Convention in opposition

76. Jour. of Ninth Ann. Convent. of Ind. at Indianapolis, 1846.

77. Bp Kemper to E Kemper July 18, '46 Wis. Mss. 31 G 33
The institutions mentioned supported the church theological seminaries.

78. Bp. Kemper to S. R. Johnson, July 16, 1847, Wis. Mss. 31 G 149 also Perry-American Episc. Church. p. 258.

79. Bp. Kemper to K. Adams, Oct. 31, 1848, Wis. Mss. 32 G 139.

to Rev. George Upfold of Pennsylvania, who was the choice of a strong minority mostly from the southern part of the state. The refusal of Dr. Vinton was a great discouragement. "These sound Churchmen have now declined in the prettiest manner," Bishop Kemper wrote in 1848. "How natural for the low Churchman to say^{80.} 'try our side and see if we have not some self denial'". The Convention of 1849 met in Indianapolis. The election of a bishop was the principal business of the session. The vote was cast for Rev. George Upfold, and to the great joy of the Missionary Bishop^{81.} his consent to the election was obtained.

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There was some difficulty regarding the consecration of Dr. Upfold, but he was finally consecrated in 1849 and Indiana was thus removed from the northwest mission.

The election of independent diocesans for Missouri in 1844, and Indiana in 1849, left the Missionary Bishop free for further labors. His hopes had become lovingly attached to the Associated Mission at Nashotah, and he had taken up his residence in Wisconsin, as he had planned on his removal from St. Louis in 1844. By the time of the election of Bishop Upfold for Indiana the Episcopal church had been firmly planted in the old Northwest Mission and a new missionary jurisdiction was opening out before the Missionary Bishop, stretching ever further to the west.

80. Bp. Kemper to S. R. Johnson, Aug. 8, 1848.
Wis. Mss. 32 G 116.

81. Perry - Amer. Episcopal Church. P. 258.

CHAPTER IV.

The Mechanics of the ~~Northwest~~ Mission.

Substantial evidence of the growing missionary interest of the Protestant Episcopal Church during the early thirties was supplied by the swelling revenues of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.¹ The burst of missionary zeal in 1835 was described in the General Convention of that year as a "Missionary spirit on which reliance may now be had."² For the efficient utilization of this enthusiasm, however, some other organization was seen to be an absolute necessity, and in the formation of a new and adequate missionary society, the theory of the Missionary Church, with new aims and agencies of action had been evolved. It was maintained that the extension into new fields could best be accomplished through the instrumentality of the Missionary Bishops, and it was under this impulse, as has been seen, that the election of Bishop Kemper to the Missionary Episcopate of Missouri and Indiana had taken place in 1835.

The new society, like the former one, was called the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. A board of thirty members, nominated and elected by joint action of the two

1 *Vide supra* note 20

2 Journ. of Gen. Convention, 1835, p. 65.

houses of the General Convention was to constitute, with the bishops and patrons of the society, the controlling Board of Missions.³ The Executive Committee of this board was separated into domestic and foreign divisions, each composed of eight members - four clerical and four lay. In order to stimulate the missionary interest of the Church, a monthly periodical, the Spirit of Missions, was instituted as the official organ of the board.

The operation of the board in the mission field was largely ^{through} by the agency of the bishops. At the outset, Bishop Kemper, with tactful consideration for the wishes of his clergy, allowed each presbyter to make suggestions in regard to missionary stations, appointments and salary directly to the domestic committee, subject only to his approval; but in 1837 the board decided that every bishop must be responsible for the appointment of stations within his jurisdiction.⁴ The selection was restricted in 1843 by the general rule that only towns of over one thousand inhabitants should be made separate stations.⁵ In 1845 it was ordered that all official correspondence between the committee and the workers in the field should be conducted through the intermediary of the bishop in charge.⁶ This arrangement was not at all

3 Journ. of Gen. Conv. 1835, p. 129.

4 Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register. (Charleston, S.C.) XIV. p. 124.

5 Spirit of Missions (N. Y. 1836-) Vol. 8, p.327 (1843)

6 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 237 (1847).

satisfactory to Bishop Kemper.⁷ But the position of the cause of missions was rendered precarious in the early forties by the combination of hard times in the country at large and party dissensions within the Church, and Bishop Kemper did not permit himself to endanger it further by criticisms or expressions of personal disapproval.

The annual salary which the committee allowed to the average missionary was \$250, made in quarterly payments, and an outfit varying in value from \$50 to \$75.⁷ It was hoped the missionary aid would be of a temporary nature, but at the outset it was not determined just how long the assistance would be extended to any one station. The amount of the stipend was not fixed by any hard and fast regulation, and variations were made even from the first. A buoyant young priest at Indianapolis, charmed with the sanguine promises of his prospective parish, wrote to the Missionary Bishop early in 1837, "Now Bishop, if the Society will appoint me the Missionary to Indianapolis & allow me \$400 & an outfit, I think I could live on that with what they wd raise there. I find everything advanced there, as here as elsewhere, & especially during the sittings of the Legislature. board about \$4 per week & houses owing to the difficulty of building scarce. Upon eight hundred dollars I think we (himself

⁷ Dissatisfaction was expressed in his diary, Sept. 6 and 10, 1842, and in private letters, such as that to Elizabeth Kemper, Aug. 6, 1843. Wis. Mes. 276, 103.

⁸ Caswall, Henry - America and the American Church, p. 270.

tobacco crop in Missouri was particularly good in 1838.¹⁴ There may have been unrecorded stations in which the salary subscribed was faithfully paid from year to year, but it is true that the western parishes as a whole were ready to undertake obligations upon hope and quite as ready to repudiate them with the collapse of the ephemeral expectations upon which the generosity ^{had been} ~~was~~ based. ^{as late as} By 1853 there was not a self-supporting parish in the whole of Iowa,¹⁵ and in Michigan, which considered itself strong enough, in 1836, to organize an independent diocese with a bishop of its own, the difficulty of sustaining the ministry was at one time so great that it was apprehended all the clergy then connected with the diocese would be obliged to resign their cures.¹⁶ Although the incomes of the western missionaries were usually somewhat greater than \$250, this missionary stipend was the only amount of which they could be absolutely sure.

The adequacy of this salary seemed to depend quite as much upon the man in question as upon external circumstances. Most of the Missionaries were married and many had large families. In regard to the clergyman at Logansport, Indiana, who, for himself, his wife and eight children, enjoyed the usual missionary bounty, the Bishop entertained the fear that "he and his lady" had never learned true economy.

14 One planter cleared \$9000 in that year. Kemper Ms. Diary.

15 Journal of the Annual Convention of P. E. Church in Iowa, 1854, p. 7.

16 Journ. of Gen. Conv. 1841, p. 54.

on credit fail in the course of 6 mos - As many of the merchants of the place had large capitals and expenses were exceedingly high." ²⁰ Indeed, it was almost impossible at times to get even living accommodations in St. Louis. A letter written in November, 1836, stated, "Expenses of travelling, board etc are much greater than they were a few months since. Not a house - scarcely a room to be had. I am now residing at the U. S. arsenal 2 miles below the city, and am thus indebted to an officer of the army for a home wh I could not find in St L." ²¹

During 1835 and 1836 rents and prices were generally high and fluctuating. The financial crash which followed this period of inflated values was keenly felt in the cities and many of the dispensing centres, but seems not to have affected the rural districts until the following years. A shortage of money could not be felt in sections where it was rarely used, and the results of the restriction of credit were not immediately apparent. The distress which finally appeared in the late thirties and early forties was augmented by new financial troubles, and by local difficulties which accumulated and made the early forties years of real suffering throughout the West. St. Louis felt the crisis of 1837 immediately, but by September it had rallied to some degree.

²⁰ Kemper Ms. Diary, Dec. 12, 1835. Wis. Mss.

²¹ Bp. Kemper to B. Dorr, Jefferson Barracks, Mo., Nov. 29, 1836. Kemper Ms. Letter Bk, May 36 - Mar. 37 Wis. Mss.

The situation was described in a letter of that date, "The crisis is past in St Louis and altho money is as scarce as it well can be there is much building going on. Prices are as high as ever or nearly so."²² By 1838, the business men of the city though relieved "still felt poor." Such conditions naturally hampered church work. Financial assistance from the East became less generous as the money pressure began to be appreciated. The enthusiasm for missions had not yet exhausted itself, however, and donations continued to come, although more sparingly. As early as May, 1836, a Philadelphian had informed Bishop Kemper, "The time for profitable land speculation has passed - but this may not extend beyond Philadelphia. I am told that a large amount of N. Y. cap has been invested in Western Lands. The great pressure for money which has existed all this spring and which still continues would also I fear be an obstacle to any plan for purchasing land such as you propose."²³ As the major part of the Episcopal missionary work was urban, the financial condition of the western towns affected not only the living conditions of the missionaries, but the success of their labors as well, and the retrenchment of eastern speculation during 1836 and '37 touched the missionary cause, in the same way, by increasing the general depression in the West,

22 Rev. Peter Minard to Bp. Kemper, St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 13, 1837, Wis. Mss. 18G 7.

23 Lewis Ashhurst to Bp. Kemper, Philadelphia, May 10, 1836. Wis. Mss. 16 G.

thus rendering local support of the laborers more difficult and at the same time decreasing the assistance which was expected from the eastern cities.

Outside of the larger towns, hard times began to become apparent by 1838. The cost of the necessities of life upon the frontier differed so widely with the distance from accessible dispensing centres, and other varying conditions that no generalization can be made. From Wisconsin a missionary wrote in 1839, "In a country abounding as this does with the principle necessities of life one would suppose the means of living ought to be cheaper, but with the exception of bread and meat everything is extremely high. Even flour has been as high as \$10 a barrel and is now held at nine."²⁴ The clergyman at Mineral Point wrote in the same year "Everything here is enormously dear. I pay thirty dollars a month merely for board and lodging. Washing is \$.25 a dozen and everything else in proportion."²⁵ It must be remembered, however, that conditions in the lead region were particularly trying in 1839 owing to the state of Mississippi navigation. The trade from the upper mines had to be completely suspended for a time²⁶ and this added to the general depression in north-eastern Iowa, northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin.

²⁴ Spirit of Missions, 4: p. 53 (1839).

²⁵ Rev. Eaton to Bp. Kemper, Mineral Pt., Wis., Dec., 1839. Wis. Mss. 22G 14.

²⁶ Niles Weekly Register, v. 57, p. 182. (Nov. 16, 1839).

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In the same year prices in the lake towns of Wisconsin were reasonable. In Iowa, however, partial crop failures caused by drought in 1838, complicated the situation. It was but natural under these circumstances that the missionaries found themselves in financial difficulties even before troubles in regard to church polity became critical enough to affect the missionary cause.

Complaints as to the insufficiency of the Missionary salary began to come in to Bishop Kemper as soon as the missionary jurisdiction was formed, but the most trying period for the West and its missionaries was not reached until the forties. In conjunction with the external difficulty of hard times in the West, the internal dissensions of the Episcopal Church hampered missionary interests after 1840. Unlike the derangement of the times, however, the virus of party enmity within the church was not confined to a few brief years. When the new missionary policy had been undertaken in 1835, high and low church differences had not been aggravated by the tractarian disputes of the Oxford theologians, but they had existed in the Episcopal Church since its organization. As early as 1820 the Episcopal seminary of Virginia, which was evangelical in its leanings, began to interest itself in foreign missions. When the missionary field was divided for convenience of operation between the domestic and foreign committees, it became a matter of tacit understanding that the low-church party should exert its liveliest efforts in

25. Rev. R. Cadell to Bp. Kemper, Milwaukee, Wis. ap 10/18/41
 Wis. Ms. 228 121.

behalf of foreign missions, leaving the domestic field largely to the high-churchmen. The average churchman at the time, while tending toward high or low church policies in conviction and practice was not yet so committed to one party or the other that he could not appreciate, intellectually at least, the position of the opposing faction. The result of the tractarian disputes was to complete a definite cleavage which was evident in 1840 and 1841. By 1842, this division had begun to tell upon the missionary policy.

During the period from 1835 to 1838 the missionary treasury had more than doubled its receipts, and the sphere of its operations had been enlarged two fold.²⁶ As against \$27,621 collected for domestic and foreign missions together in 1835, the receipts for the domestic missions alone had been \$22,662 in 1837.²⁷ In 1838 the committee received \$26,545. The contributions came from 306 out of 865 parishes.²⁸ The claims of domestic missions were urged so insistently in 1838, that a resolution was suggested in the General Convention to reduce the appropriations for foreign and increase those of domestic missions.²⁹ The report from the diocese of Maine complained, "Current religious sympathy is so directed to the West that attention to equal wants in a different quarter can scarce be arrested."³⁰ The receipts for 1839 were \$32,006, of which

²⁶ ~~26~~ Spirit of Missions 3; p. 248 (1838)

²⁷ ~~27~~ Ibid. 2; p. 201 (1837).

²⁸ ~~28~~ Ibid. 3; p. 239 (1838).

²⁹ ~~29~~ Journal of Gen. Conv. 1838, p. 46.

³⁰ ~~Journal of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine, 1838~~ (Leave a space)

sum \$26,660 was contributed by 284 out of 1036 churches.³³

In gratification over the final amount, no mention was made of the fact that the number of contributing parishes was decreasing. In this year the committee retained in its treasury the largest balance after meeting its liabilities which it was to experience before 1859.

With the opening of the forties the period of tribulation approached for the domestic committee; by June of 1842 it was well upon them. The subscriptions for the latter year showed a falling off, and expenses exceeded receipts by more than \$4000.³⁴ The number of organized churches was greater than existed in 1841, but the number of parishes contributing to domestic missions had decreased. As the missionary salaries were paid in quarterly installments the state of the domestic treasury was evident upon the field before it was made public by the annual report in June.

The shortage of revenue came at a time particularly embarrassing to the missionaries. The Western Church, always financially dependant upon the east, found itself in complete reliance upon the missionary board at the moment when strong feeling was setting in against the party that maintained domestic missions. The years following 1840 were critical ones throughout the country. Bank failures and the repudiation of

³³ Spirit of Missions 4; p. 218 (1839).

³⁴ Ibid. 7; p. 192 sq. (1842).

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state debts disastrously complicated the currency problem which had been difficult at the best, and prices and values were seriously affected. Such conditions intensified the force of other factors tending to lessen the missionary revenues. In 1841 the United States Bank of Philadelphia suspended operations and Bishop Kemper lost on the exchange of United States Bank notes (of which he had a fair supply) at the rate of 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ %.

36

"The everlasting talk of everybody now is money money 'til I get sick of hearing it," Elizabeth Kemper wrote from Philadelphia in 1842, "There has been the greatest trouble with the circulation. We thought ourselves as safe as possible but there seems to be danger now from a certain quarter (business failures in New Orleans)!"³⁷ Another letter vividly described the situation in Pennsylvania, "Our commercial condition is getting worse and worse every day*** Money affairs in Philadelphia are very bad the Girard Bank has failed - Pennsylvania Bank do - and what is worse there is a deficit of \$800,000 of state money which was to pay the interest on our state debt due yesterday**** Several other of the Philadelphia banks are tottering, and their failure is daily expected."³⁸ Although the supporters of domestic missions were

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36 Kemper Ms. Diary. Accounts for Feb. 1841. Wis. Mss.

37 Elizabeth Kemper to Bp. Kemper, Philadelphia, Feb. 15, 1842, Wis. Mss. 250 151.

38 Rev. George Upfold to Bp. Kemper, Mount Hobart, Pa., Feb. 2, 1842, Wis. Ms. 250 143.

not confined to Pennsylvania, some of the most influential of Bishop Kemper's personal friends were of that state, and difficulties in Philadelphia were particularly important for that reason.

The banking situation in the western states, meanwhile,
 36. was alarming. The Bank of Missouri stood firm. Its notes were frequently used by the national government to pay off its obligations,
 37. but the situation in Missouri was necessarily complicated by the failures in neighboring states and by numerous failures in Missouri itself. In 1841 a prominent merchant of St. Louis stated, "Our money market is in the worst state and exchange on N Y will
 38. now command 5 & 6 pr ct prem ium . At that time the percentage
 39. of premium was yet higher in the Missouri River towns. In Kentucky
 40. a New York draft commanded 8% premium in 1841, while in April, 1842,
 41. such a draft drew 5% premium at Indianapolis and 4% at Vincennes. The collapse of the banking institutions in Illinois caused much
 42. difficulty during 1842. "I loose \$51 on my Illinois notes,"

36.

- 37. "And I will make provision to refund you with the best means that Uncle Sam has put into his hands to pay his chaplains which generally consists of notes of the Bank of Mo. But if he can squeeze out the amount in gold I will make him." E.G.Gear to Bp. Kemper. Wis.Mss. 24G 181.
- 38. Geo Underhill to Bp. Kemper, St. Louis, Feb.11, 1841. Wis. Mss. 24G 24.
- 39. See letter of Mr. Meade to Bp. Kemper, note 55 below.
- 40. Kemper Ms. Diary Accounts, Nov. 1841, Wis. Mss.
- 41. Ibid. April and May, 1842.
- 42. Ibid, March 21, 1842.

the Bishop wrote to his daughter in March; and later in the same year he wrote, "I have in my pocket \$102 of Illinois money which was perfectly good when I left St. Louis, and which is worth very little at present."⁴⁶ Accounts that had been paid in Illinois notes frequently had to be re-settled⁴⁷ and the possessor of such money was fortunate to dispose of it without total loss.⁴⁸ The private drafts (generally at from three to sixty days sight) by means of which most of the business of the western mission was transacted, fluctuated on account of the condition of the local money market, and according to the reputation of the man or institution upon which the draft was drawn. As most of the important drafts were upon New York, the mission stood to gain more often than to lose by this uncertainty, but in the transaction of local affairs the difficulty was sometimes a serious one.

Gold was seldom to be obtained and commanded an appreciable premium. Indeed so great was the pressure for cash or reliable paper that the interest obtainable was excessively high. A letter from Boonville, Missouri, in 1841 illustrates the cumbersome business methods employed as

46 Bp Kemper to E. Kemper. Mar 21, 1842. Wis Mos 269/2

47 I will repay your loss on the Ill^s 20 notes*** Pay W Dick if the note I gave him was bad. Bp. Kemper to T S Davis. Letter Book in Diary 13, Mar. 26, 1842.

48 Enclose 80 Shawneetown money to be got rid of for me, etc. Bp. Kemper to F. F. Peaks. Letter Book in Diary 13, April 1, 1842.

well as the demand for money. "I availed myself of the draft, for \$350 which is the specific sum in the hands of the Committee as I am informed ** and for the balance I drew on the credit of Br ^{45.} Peake's ^{46.} draft on J Parker Doan Esquire for \$95 which together with the 10 per cent premium on the funds in New York \$385 make the sum \$485. I enclose Mr. Peake's draft to Mr. Doan requesting him to place the balance to his Mr. Peake's credit. I was offered five per cent a month with the best security for the use of the surplus but I did not feel myself warranted in placing it at usurious interest." ^{47.} It was reported in Iowa that an Episcopal clergyman was receiving 40% ^{48.} a year upon his money, but the charge of usury was not an uncommon one to be raised falsely against men of any religious pretensions. By means of a similar charge an attempt was made to discredit the Episcopal missionary at Duck Creek, Wisconsin, by accusing him of obtaining 30% interest on loans to the Indians. An investigation showed ^{49.} that the charge was without foundation. Interest in the early forties reached 15 and 20 per cent, however, while in

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- 45. Mr. Peake was a clergyman formerly of Boonville, but acting at the time as the Bishop's assistant in Christ Church, St. Louis.
 - 46. J. Parker Doan was a merchant-banker of St. Louis.
 - 47. Rev. C. Meade to Bp. Kemper, Lexington, Mo., May 10, 1841. Wis. Mss. 24G 99/
 - 48. Kemper Ms. Diary, June 28, 1842.
 - 49. Investigating committee to Bp. Kemper Apr. 14, 1842. Wis. Mss. 26G 35.

ordinary years 10 and 12⁵ appear to have measured the normal demand for money in the West.

"The times are now awfully hard at St. Louis," the Bishop wrote, in 1842, while the money pressure was at its worst, "some of our best people have failed."⁵⁴ Failure after failure was recorded in St. Louis alone,⁵⁵ but the distress was not confined to that city. The instability of the missionary income at such a time was a serious matter. By December the state of the missionary finances necessitated the calling of a special meeting. There was at that time a deficit of \$7000 for the domestic committee, and of the 144

54 Bp. Kemper to Elizabeth Kemper, *July 20, 1842*
Wis. Mss. 26G 89s

55 Letters like the following give a more vivid picture of existing conditions than a mere statement of the fact. St. Louis Feb 8, 1842 - John Stagg has broken up - failed to the amount of several thousand dollars. You know he was one of the most active and enterprising merchants - owned one whole boat and shares to a large amount in one or two others - his invested capital was large - He may recover but I fear not*** Trowbridge has also gone by the board

F. F. Peake to Bp. Kemper.
Says Tracy's failure is bad - & Pease Charles's & Blow etc have gone too. Sept 5, 1842, Kemper Ms. Diary.

Dinner at Hoffmans I learn he is deeply involved.
Nov, 10, 1842, Kemper Ms. Diary.

Feb. 20 - 1843. The State governments are deeply in debt - and worse times than ever are anticipated Dr Hoffman, Ed Tracy Jos Eline and many other merchants have lost their all - and some families have moved from the city not an individual as I told you in my last letter could be found to lend the College (Kemper College, Missouri) a dollar *** can collect but a small portion of the tuition bills*** There have been so many failures in N. Y. that that resource (to pay the professor's salaries) may be much diminished (subscriptions in the east are deficient \$300) which he (Mr. Carder) intended to

stations maintained upon the lists, more than half were destitute of services. The shortage was met by a special collection on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1843. Aside from this collection, the receipts for 1843 were smaller than ever.

In order to tempt missionaries into the West, it was ordered that the salary of the married clergymen be raised to \$500, and definite regulations were adopted in regard to stations.⁵⁶ Considering the unpropitious state of the treasury, these nominal changes had little bearing upon actual conditions. By 1844, even the Missionary Bishop began to be apprehensive. The allowances for parts of his mission were cut annually, the appropriation for Indiana being as low in 1847 as \$1,780.⁵⁷ Missouri, which passed out of his jurisdiction in 1844, was out in that year from \$1666 to \$647.⁵⁷ Bishop Kemper's discouragement was mingled with irritation. He was a high-churchman, but he was not an extremist, and

make up out of his own pocket or by soliciting further aid. The latter soon became hopeless from the change of the times.

Bp. Kemper to Rev. H. Caswall - Kemper Letter Book, P 1839 - May 5, 1853, Wis. Mus. G.

There was a reason, however, for painting as dark a picture of finances as possible in this last letter, as Bp. Kemper was explaining why the services of Mr. Caswall to Kemper College would no longer be continued at his former salary.

56 Spirit of Missions, 8: p. 337 (1843).

57 Apportionments found in Treasurer's annual reports in Proceedings of Board of Missions, printed in Spirit of Missions.

his views were maintained with the utmost toleration for conflicting opinions in the minds of his clergy. Acrimonious partisanship to the detriment of a truly sacred cause was almost beyond his comprehension. By the end of 1844, two high church bishops had been suspended from their sees,⁵⁸ and attacks were being made against others of the party. The Missionary Bishop himself was the object of attack in 1846 and again in 1847,⁵⁹ and he felt that the domestic committee was not dealing justly with him or his mission.

Ceasing to expand operations in the field was no longer a sufficient economy. It was necessary that operations actually be reduced. The annual report of 1847 showed a deficit of \$14,000.⁵⁷ The Board resolved to provide a contingent fund to be used for the payment of salaries in those years when receipts were not equal to liabilities. Before it could be collected, however, another installment of salary fell due. The committee was authorized to borrow the necessary funds, but it refused to meet the accruing indebtedness in this manner on the plea that the annual interest on

58 Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk of Pennsylvania was forced to leave his diocese in 1841, charged with the use of a drug taken on account of ill health. In 1844, Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk was tried (with distressing newspaper publicity) upon accusations seriously affecting his character. Six Bishops voted against his suspension; Bishop Kemper was one of these.

59 He was charged with the misuse of funds for his mission, and with partisanship, particularly in the case of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York, which recurred in 1847. According to the letter cited below (note 65), Bishop Kemper was not as innocent of the latter charge as he proved himself to be of the former. It must be remembered, however, that Bishop Kemper was never a stern judge. He

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such a loan would amount to \$800 or \$1000. The exasperation of the Missionary Bishop turned almost to bitterness. He was besieged with complaints from every part of his mission. From Duck Creek, Wisconsin, the missionary wrote, "I hardly know what to do. The remissness of the Committee causes me much uneasiness**** What we need most in the family - i.e. provisions etc - cannot be bought on credit. In a few days I must have flour and today \$8 in cash would hardly buy a barrel. I may be wrong but I can not feel it my duty to stay here and have the burden of debt."⁶¹ It had been Bishop Kemper's practice to make out the church appropriations from his private purse, and from 1835 to 1838 he refused to accept his own travelling expenses from the committee in order to increase the money available for his Mission. His financial affairs would no longer permit such generosity, nor did he feel justified in indulging in it when the Church failed to endorse his labors with the necessary support. "You know, he wrote to a confidential friend, "the

was not a keen thinker, and quite unconsciously he frequently confused issues and emotions. Bishop Benjamin Onderdonk had been a boyhood friend and a college classmate, and he felt, as did the other high church bishops, that there was some reason to doubt the evidence assembled against the Bishop of New York. Aside from party sympathy, the leniency of the Missionary Bishop to his friend is not hard to understand, although it is also clear, in spite of numerous protests to the contrary, that party spirit was not absent from his decision.

60 Spirit of Missions, 14: p. 199 (1848).

61 F. A. Haff - Journ. of Annual Convention of Wis., 1850., p. 225.

mortifying and all but suffering state of many of the missionaries several of whom did not receive one cent from Dom. Com.
 58.
 from 1 Oct/47 to 1 Oct/48," And again, "Take good Dr Roger's case. He brot to Wisconsin money enough to make the first payment for some land - a wife - and 10 children. He taught school - he and his little boys worked the land at odd hours - and to save that land in consequence of the inability of the Dom. Com. to pay him the salary they had pledged him at the proper time, he was obliged to borrow money at 12 per cent."
 59.

Even the Bishop's salary was unpaid in part. "Bishop Chase the low Church Bishop of Illinois who has never done an hours work for the D. C. is paid in full." Bishop Kemper complained. "From the day of my ordination until about 4 years since I have had no difficulty about my salary and now I feel that I am neither treated fairly nor honorably."
 60. The bitter hostility which had become evident at the trial and suspension of Bishop Benjamin Onderdonk again manifested itself during the attempts to reinstate him in 1847. Having exhausted other methods of urging the demands of his mission, Bishop Kemper finally resorted to his claims as an upholder of the high church party. "Did I not go last year to the General Convention with 17 votes in favor of terminating the punishment of

58. Bp. Kemper to Rev. S.A. Johnson, Nov. 4, 1848. Wis. Mss. 320144.

59. Ibid. March 16, 1848, Wis. Mss. 320 64.

60. Ibid, Aug. 18, 1849, Wis. Mss. 330 46.

B. T. C? Were I now to retire from Wn it would in all human probability be distracted **** and had I resigned the missionary office last year is it not probable considering the distracted state of the church that a low churchman (a party man) might have been placed in my stead."^{61.}

With such uncertain resources at their command, it is interesting to see how the western missionaries were faring during this period. After 1844, the effects of hard times became less apparent in the West, although local circumstances could force them to reappear. Prices in general were rising. In 1843 and the following years, Bishop Kemper secured board in St. Louis for \$5.00 a week in advance, but he admitted that he could have procured it at a lower price.^{62.} A Missionary in Burlington, Iowa, complained at a somewhat later date that it was impossible to maintain his family at a fraction less than \$500 a year.^{63.} Nevertheless, the price of articles produced for immediate consumption in Iowa was low.^{64.} In the western

61. Bp. Kemper to Rev. S.R. Johnson, Nov. 4, 1848, Wis. Mss. 32G144.

62. Bp. Kemper to Elizabeth Kemper, Jan. 13, 1843. Wis. Mss. 27G,40.

63. Spirit of Missions, 18: p. 190 (1853).

64. A partial price list for meats at Bloomington, Iowa, in 1843 is printed in the Iowa Historical Record (Nos. 1-3, p. 340), and will serve to indicate this point.

Pork - $1\frac{1}{2}$ - 2c per lb. Eggs - 4¢ per doz.

Chicken - 75¢ per doz. Wild ducks - 5¢ apiece.

Crop failures affected the price of grains more adversely, and flour was relatively high.

A more complete list for 1841 and 1842 is supplied in Annals of Iowa, Vol. 1-3, p. 77. Prices were lower in

communities as a whole the cost of provisions upon which there were no freight charges did not constitute a large proportion of the annual budget for living expenses. This, however, was dependent upon many conditions; the general fertility of the soil, the success of the crops, local epidemics hindering labor, the distance to the mill, the ability to get produce to any other than the local market; all these, with other factors, affected prices so variously that any general statement concerning the cost of food is impossible. It is certain, however, that even in a period of rising prices, food was often moderate, and even low. "He (a missionary in northern Indiana) assured me that the food for all his family did not cost \$100 per ann. & it consists of himself, wife her sister, & four children and all actually & truly fat but his wife."⁶⁹ This would not have been possible in a bad year, but, in general, there was little reason why the clergy should

those years than previously, and lower than in succeeding years.

Flour averaged \$5-5.50 per bbl.

Wheat	"	Per bu.	.50	Beef from wagon	2-4¢	per lb.
Corn	"	"	37-50 ¢	Pork	"	" 3-4¢ "
Oats	"	"	25-31¢	Butter	Pr lb.	aver. 25¢
Potatoes	"	"	18-25¢	Tallow	"	" 12¢
Onions	"	"	25-37¢	Sugar	"	" 12¢
Molasses	"	Per gal	75¢	Coffee	"	" 20¢
Honey	"	"	75¢	Tea	"	" \$1.00
Nails	"	" lb.	10-12¢			

69 Bp. Kemper to S. R. Johnson, Mar. 16, 1848. Wis. Mss. 32G 64.

have suffered actual want in the forties if their meager stipends had been faithfully paid.

The resort to secular labor for support in case of financial difficulties was discountenanced, but fortunately it was considered quite consistent with the clerical calling to open a school, for which in most parts of the West there was a great demand. Many of the clergy were able to support themselves without such efforts. "Thank," the Bishop wrote to his daughter of his Rev. George Fiske, Richmond, Indiana supporting his wife and child comfortably and certainly most neatly upon \$250 a year.^{66.} In consequence of this ability praise was bestowed upon the excellent Mrs. Fiske on every appropriate occasion. In 1844, the visitation of Indiana brought its Bishop further gratification of this nature. On this journey he saw "Economy superior even to that of the Fiske's. Thus far his Mr. Vaux salary has been at the rate of \$200 per ann. He has secured 80 acres, built a log house with some fences and has chickens and ducks etc but is yet unable to buy a cow. His family now consists of his wife and a little girl about 6 years old.^{67.} The glad surprise evinced upon such occasions seems to imply that they were rare. Far more often Bishop Kemper was forced to make comment upon the lack of economy among the clergy. The

66. Bp. Kemper to Elizabeth Kemper, May 27, 1843. Wis. Mss. 27G 75.

67. Ibid. Aug. 5, 1844, Wis. Mss. 29 G 22.

unfortunate wives who could not make the clerical incomes meet contingencies came in for a good deal of unofficial Episcopal censure. The case of the wife of a missionary at Vincennes, Indiana, who received from her husband the gift of a gold watch was made the subject of special reference. A missionary at Madison,,Indiana, presented his wife with a piano purchased upon credit. It was intended that the instrument should be used in assisting toward the family support, but the Bishop sadly remarked when he visited the parish, "Here as in too many other cases, I have great cause to lament that young clergymen will so often marry foolish lazy wives."

From this consideration of the general finances of the Domestic Committee as well as the conditions confronting the missionaries during the thirties and forties, it can be seen that the lack of sufficient salary would render the

procuring of able men to fill the western stations an almost insuperable difficulty. The Episcopal Missionary Association for the West, a Pennsylvania organization especially interested in Iowa, complained that the salaries were so notoriously low that men "who could procure respectable settlements in the elder dioceses thought of the western missionary field as a last resort."⁷⁴ The efficient and educated clergyman whose training had developed a love of study and a preference for a settled course of life did not seek the West. Too often the men who responded to the missionary call were but the spiritually or mentally "maimed, halt, and blind", whose ministrations were little credit to the church in the thriving western communities.

Hardly a public utterance of Bishop Kemper's can be found which does not contain a reference to the "lack of laborers in the harvest." General missionary interest prevailing at the time of his consecration mislead him as to the extent of real missionary sacrifice the clergy were willing or able to undergo. He was the recipient of numerous letters, expressing a willingness to go West if a suitable offer were made. These generally came from men ignorant of the only kind of offer which the West was able to make. His first return to the East in behalf of his mission began the process

⁷⁴ Proceedings of the Episcopal Missionary Association for the West (Philadelphia, 1855, p. 7.

of his awakening to actual conditions. Like Bishop Chase in Ohio and Illinois, Bishop Smith in Kentucky, and Bishop Otey in Tennessee, the Missionary Bishop began to realize almost immediately that the West must supply its own ministry. This necessity introduced the distinct and extremely difficult problem of maintaining schools for the training of such native clergy.

From the ^{very} first, Kemper College was burdened with debt.

The payment of the small force of teachers and the expenses for extension and improvements increased the original indebtedness from year to year. By January 5, 1842,

the debt had reached \$10,000,⁷⁷ and no plan could be suggested for lightening this encumbrance but to borrow the amount at 10% interest.⁷⁸ The Episcopal institutions were not the only ones in danger during the forties. "From late accounts we see that many of the colleges in the West are likely to suffer for want of funds if not go down entirely. Beecher's College in Illinois is likely to go by the board*** Shall this institution go down? If so, the Romanists have the ground for this generation."⁷⁹ The Romanists, indeed, were already preparing, in 1842, to absorb Kemper College. They had purchased a farm three quarters of a mile away and were negotiating for the land adjoining the college, and it was reported, that realizing the situation, they were desirous of purchasing the institution itself.⁸⁰ Bishop Hawkes, who became diocesan of Missouri in 1844, did not appreciate the extent and nature of the liabilities he inherited with Kemper College, and he finally permitted it to be sold for debt in 1845,⁸¹ Its brief existence did little to solve the problem of providing a western clergy, and the hopes with which

⁷⁷ Kemper Ms. Diary, Jan. 5, 1842.

⁷⁸ Ibid. Jan. 19, 1842.

⁷⁹ Rev. F. Corbin to Ep. Kemper, Apr. 3, 1842. Wis. Mss. 266 29.

⁸⁰ Kemper Ms. Diary, Nov. 15, 1842.

it was founded came to nothing.

Bishop Kemper's first effort to supply his field with trained workers was not whole heartedly supported by the church at large. The bishops of the West were engaged in similar undertakings for their more limited jurisdictions and were but luke-warm in their praises of the Mission College. Washotah, the second missionary institution, however, created a real sensation, especially among the ranks of the low churchmen. The high church party was elated at its success, and certainly such a mission college supplied an imperious need, rendering large services, while its financial demands upon the church were relatively slight. As has been seen, the inmates supported themselves by manual labor. "The sum total of our expenses for weekly board, lodging of ourselves - horses included - is from 12 to 15 dollars!"^{73.}

John Hobart wrote in 1841. The party included at that time the three young deacons and the veteran western missionary, Richard Cadle, as superior of the order. For the support of the mission, farm land was put under cultivation to meet increasing expenses and extraordinary demands were met by the generosity of enthusiastic high churchmen from the East, who watched the venture with interest. After a time, however, donations were allowed to come through the Missionary Society and Washotah soon found itself in debt.^{74.} During the Oxford antagonisms, the attacks

73. Breck, C. Life of J. Lloyd Breck, p.30.

74. Lloyd Breck to Bp. Kemper, May 11, 1843, Wis. Mss. 27072.

upon the Mission were bitter. "The next 16 mos.," the Bishop wrote in 1844, "our time of trial. If we survive that is Nashotah will be the most interesting and useful school in the Church." ^{75.} At this time there were nineteen students at Nashotah; thirteen were divinity students and five were candidates for orders, ^{76.} so that it could be seen even thus early that the Mission was beginning to fulfill the expectations of its founders. Successful as the venture proved, however, its beneficial influence was not sufficient to affect materially the problem of a western ministry during the early days of the Northwest Mission.

It was a rare issue of the "Spirit of Missions" which did not present a list of vacant parishes in the Northwest. In desperation the Bishop wrote in 1847, "Shall Rome send her archbishops? Shall the Methodists continue to follow in the track of the hardy pioneer, and shall we remain indifferent and inactive?" ^{77.} He summed up the situation in his annual report of 1853. "Perhaps no fact more forcibly illustrates the destitution of clergymen in the Church than that the Philadelphia Association for the West whose attention has been particularly directed to Iowa, after two years of unremitted efforts, have only sent into it two clergymen,

75. Bp. Kemper to Stanford, in Kemper Ms. Diary, April 30, 1844.

76. Breck, Life of J. Lloyd Breck, p. 43.

77. Journal of Gen. Conv. 1847. p. 208.

neither of whom came from east of the Allegheny Mountains, although large salaries were offered."⁸⁷

General conditions in the West were not conducive to stability for the clergy or the Church. Constant immigration and emigration swelled and depleted a parish so that a station which at the outset had been flourishing might need to be abandoned within a short time. The westerner was ever moving further on. During the forties semi-military companies of emigrants were leaving for the Oregon country.⁸⁸ In the fifties the gold of California and even Australia lured the floating population.⁸⁹ "One great obstacle with which we have to contend," wrote a missionary from Iowa in 1842, "results from the extremely unsettled habits of the people."⁹⁰ The missionary from Burlington in that state, asserted "We have not gained more by accessions than we have lost by removals. Within the last two years we have lost from that

⁸⁷ Spirit of Missions 18; p. 486 (1853).

⁸⁸ The Report of a meeting of Johnson County, Iowa, taken from the advertisement in the Iowa Capital Reporter, March 11, 1843, gives full regulations for the formation of one of these western companies. Lists of prices and wages in Oregon were also printed to tempt new members to join the emigrants. Emigration to Oregon, in Iowa Journal of History and Politics.

⁸⁹ Journal of Annual Conv. of Wis. (1851, 52 and 53) p. 82.

⁹⁰ Spirit of Missions 7; p. 8 (1842).

cause full one half of the families which at the commencement of that period composed my congregation."⁹¹ The removals from Mineral Point, Wisconsin, in the year of the California rush almost prostrated that parish.⁹² The Bishop recognized that "This remaining in a place a year or two and then leaving is money thrown away, and an almost irreparable injury to the Church."⁹³

Even when a suitable missionary could be secured and conditions were favorable for retaining him at his station, the Episcopal Church still encountered difficulties arising from the need of a proper edifice. The Baptists, Methodists, and, oftentimes, the Presbyterians carried on their rural missionary labors (and frequently their urban labors as well) by means of the camp meeting, and Nature demands no rent for her pavilions. The churches which were erected by these denominations were generally plain, cheap, and unadorned.⁹⁴ The Episcopalian Congregations were never permitted to avail themselves of the camp meeting style and rarely of its accommodations. The first services in a newly instituted parish might be held in the court house, the school house, or the Masonic hall, but almost immediately some more suitable

⁹¹ Spirit of Missions 14; p. 190 (1849).

⁹² Ibid. 15; p. 65 (1850).

⁹³ Bp. Kemper to S. W. Mauny Sept. 6, 1841. Wis. Mss. 256 23.

⁹⁴ Caswall - Amer. and the Amer. Ch. p. 269 sq.

habitation was sure to be demanded. Proudly proclaiming themselves as they often did, "by far the most respectable portion of the community,"⁹⁵ the Episcopalians desired to worship in churches of some taste and beauty in spite of an inability and disinclination to pay for the privilege. It was Bishop Kemper's conviction⁹⁶ that plain, cheap, even temporary places of worship befitted the condition of a parish supported by missionary aid. Occasionally a western congregation could be induced to adopt such a plan, but more frequently, regardless of Episcopal admonitions, the parishes of the Northwest indulged in churches the cost of which was beyond their ability to pay.

An Episcopal church was planned at Chicago in 1836, which was to cost \$20000.⁹⁷ At Alton, in the same year, subscription promises were made with enthusiasm. An Alton speculator who had laid out his entire fortune of \$12,000 in town lots in 1834, and who claimed in 1836 to have received \$80,000 for one quarter of them, came forward as the financial backer of the enterprise.⁹⁸ But alas for plans and expectations! Any general or local reverses inclined the westerner to repudiate debts of this nature. The erection of churches in the Northwest was not sufficiently advanced in 1836 to feel the

95 Wis. Mes. 19G 132; Spirit of Missions 4; 167; Proceedings of Board of Missions 1839, p. 41; Wis. Mes 17G 61, etc.

96 Ann. Conv. of P. E. Ch. in Diocese of Indiana, 1841, p. 26; Ibid, 1842 and 1843, p. 12; Wis. Mes 32G 48, etc.

97 Bp. Kemper to B. Dorr, Mar. 10, 1836. Letter Book II, Feb. to April, 1836, Wis. Mes. G.

98 Bp. Kemper to B. Dorr, Mar. 3, 1836. Letter Book II, Feb. to April, 1836, Wis. Mes. G.

financial pressure, but the years which followed told heavily upon church subscriptions. At Indianapolis \$700 was subscribed in the fall of 1837, and upon this basis plans were made for a church to cost \$3,500. The corner stone was laid in April, 1838, and nothing more serious than delay impeded the progress of the building. The burden of debt was a detriment to its activities, however, for many years. For the church planned at Crawfordsville, Indiana, in 1837, one half the required amount had been pledged. "He (the local missionary) will not listen to the suggestion of building a plain church," Bishop Kemper complained. "It must be handsome and therefore H (Rev. M. Hoyt) must go and beg."⁹⁹ In many sections of the West plans had to be abandoned altogether or churches actually begun had to be sold for debt. "We had fondly hoped to be able to build us a respectable house of worship this summer, but the times are so extremely hard with us at present that we shall be unable to accomplish it without assistance from abroad,"¹⁰⁰ the wardens of Trinity parish, Michigan City, Indiana, wrote in the spring of 1837.

Some part of the expense incurred in building could be met by the sale of pews. In St. Louis this source resulted in an appreciable income. After the annual sale of sittings in Christ Church in 1839, the Bishop felt greatly encouraged. "On Monday 60 pews were sold", he wrote, "7 of them for \$500

⁹⁹ Kemper Ms. Diary, Feb. 1, 1837.
¹⁰⁰ Zebina Gould and H. P. Holbrook to Bp. Kemper, Apr. 21, 1837, Wis. Ms. 176

subject to an annual rent of 6 per cent. Each pew was valued and persons bid for a choice. Our old friend the post master got a \$500 pew and paid 70 for the privilege of choosing it. The next day the pews were put up to rent at 10 per cent of their value and so great was the competition that Mr. Shaw paid 47⁵⁰ for the first choice and then selected the only pew that remained of the \$500 ones and will thus have to pay this year 97⁵⁰. The bonus for a choice continued for some time at \$25 and now there is scarcely a pew excepting a few at the door which is not sold or rented. Many pews were taken by young men - and many were struck down to individuals with whom none of us were acquainted."¹⁰¹ But these advantageous sales did not prevent the church from being heavily in debt during the forties, and the parochial finances became altogether unsatisfactory. In most of the parishes in the West the revenues obtained in this manner were slight. The churches were not large and when free sittings had been reserved for strangers and for negroes, the possibility of realizing important sums from those remaining was diminished.¹⁰² The major part of the church expenses, therefore, came back upon the subscribers.

An indebtedness which appeared legitimate in view of the subscription list was often quite impossible of collection and the result was likely to prove disastrous. "Something

101 Bp. Kemper to S. R. Johnson, Feb. 22, 1839. Wis. Mss. 203 149.

102 Caswall - Amer. and the Amer. Ch. p. 282.

Land endowments lessening the initial cost of building were sometimes made by wealthy individuals, or, at least, the lots upon which to build were generally donated or cheaply obtained. In 1836 Governor Duncan of Illinois, one of the proprietors of Michigan City, Indiana, offered a lot to the first church to put up a respectable building. This was not an uncommon form in which to clothe the proposition, and such an offer served as a method of local advertisement. This proposed gift was far from contemptible when one considers the price of land in 1836, even in as remote a section as Michigan City.^{98.} The church at Evansville, Indiana, received a lot from General Evans. General Harrison presented the lot to the parish at Vincennes. Land donations were most generous after the collapse of 1837, and during the period of depression in the early forties. A young clergyman at Mineral Point, Wisconsin, was particularly fortunate in receiving gifts of this nature. "I have now in my possession deeds from the proprietors of 7 town lots in that part of town on main street next to the bank **** in expectation of procuring two lots more in the same neighborhood. In addition I had four other town lots, including the present graveyard given me, for which, however, I have not yet got deeds. Also forty acres of mineral land within two miles of

98. Gov. Duncan was reported to have bought the land at the opening of the district for \$100 a quarter section, and within two years, he was able to sell it for \$240,000, which was an increase of 100%. Kemper Ms. Diary, Jan. 27, 1837.

the town, & in about two hours time, I got upwards of seven hundred dollars subscribed to be paid in cash and upwards of three hundred to be paid in materials for the new church & all the subscriptions I got are sure to be paid which is not the case with all such here."¹⁰⁸

Attempts to obtain these donations were not always successful. An effort was made to get land from the New York Company which claimed ownership of the Half-breed Tract in southern Iowa in 1844, but the company was too deeply involved in litigation with squatters and actual settlers upon the land to be able to encourage the scheme.¹⁰⁹ It was intimated to Bishop Kemper in 1843 that Mr. Murray, the English proprietor of large tracts of land in Wisconsin, might be interested in the cause of the Episcopal Church in that state, and with this in mind the Bishop addressed him in behalf of an Episcopal College for the West. The extent of the demand so horrified the Honorable Mr. Murray that he appears to have been almost stunned. "I am quite aware," he wrote in reply, "of the great difference in value between land here (In England) and in Wisconsin and I should have made no objection to a demand including ten or twenty acres more than the ground actually occupied by the buildings proposed."¹¹⁰

"The honorable writes as if he really intended to give

108 B. Eaton to Bp. Kemper, Wis. Mes. 22G 61.

109 Kemper Ms. Diary, April 1, 1844.

110 Hon. Chas. A. Murray to Bp. Kemper, Nov. 2, 1843.

me the site for a college and that alone," the Bishop explained to his daughter, "How absurd the notion that I would travel hundreds of miles and expose myself for days to a midsummer sun to obtain say 4 acres equal in value to five dollars."¹¹¹ American proprietors understood western land values more clearly, and certainly their gifts were inestimable to the cause of the church, for, although land was relatively cheap in the early forties when the most extensive building was in progress, the condition of the church was such, as has been seen, that any additional financial burden could scarcely have been borne.

It was seldom that subscriptions and gifts were adequate to the needs of the parishes in the Northwest, and the necessary funds could be raised only by special collections in the East. At the time of initiating the new missionary policy "systematic giving" had been urged upon Episcopalians, but hard upon this recommendation, the bishops and clergy of the West began a series of begging tours for colleges, churches, parsonages, salaries and all the varied missionary needs. The Missionary Bishop begged for Kemper College in 1836, and the following years, and for Nashotah during the forties. A clergyman was sent from St. Louis to beg for Kemper College throughout the South in 1840, but he found that Bishop Chase had just preceded him begging for his college in

¹¹¹ Bp. Kemper to Elizabeth Kemper, Dec. 18, 1843. Wis. Mss. 28Q 28.

Illinois, and the Missourian was forced to return penniless. The assistant rector of Christ Church was then dispatched to the East to raise the necessary funds. A professor from Kemper College was twice sent to England for this purpose, with very slight success. From Evansville, Indiana, the Missionary undertook a begging tour through Virginia and other sections of the East in 1841. The English rector of the parish at Vincennes spent a year in England collecting for his cure. The Church at Richmond, Indiana, could be completed only after eastern solicitation. These constituted only a small proportion of the personal visitations, and the number of appeals delivered by private or open letters was legion. The practice was also resorted to by the committee when it found itself in financial straits. One of the church vapors complained in 1837, "Is not the whole plan of sending out agents to make collections for this or that mission inconsistent with the plan of systematic charity which so many churches have adopted, and all are advised by our ecclesiastical rules to adopt?"¹¹² This remained a favorite resource until 1843, when such individual solicitations were forbidden by the Board.

By 1850 the financial situation of the Domestic Committee had become less distressing. The receipts for 1851 exceeded the expenditures and by 1852 the Committee was out

¹¹² Gospel Messenger XIV, p. 60 (1837).

of debt, but not yet out of danger. The number of contributing churches decreased each year after 1848, until in 1853 only 83 churches were giving to the cause of Domestic Missions.¹¹³ The situation was so critical that a resolution was adopted to the effect that "the state of Domestic Missionary activity is such as to excite anxiety and pain," and it was urged that the reasons for this torper be ascertained. The Protestant Churchman had declared early in this development that there was no reason to attribute the decrease in funds to party spirit.¹¹⁴ A comparison of the missionary activity of the various Protestant denominations was made by the Gospel Messenger, and from the results the Episcopalians laid much flattering unction to their souls. The Presbyterian society, it was shown, with a membership of 170,000 contributed \$80,000 to missions in general in 1844. This would amount to fifty cents annually, or about one cent per week for each member. The Baptists, numbering 600,000, contributed \$100,000 in the same year, or sixteen cents annually, being about one third cent per week for each member. The Methodists with a membership of 1,000,000 contributed \$150,000, or thirteen cents annually, or one-fourth cent per week for each member. The Episcopalians, on the other hand, with a communion of only 60,000, contributed \$80,000 in 1844, and this would amount to

¹¹³ Spirit of Missions, 18, p. 385 (1853)
¹¹⁴ Protestant Churchman, April 18, 1846.

a per capita payment of \$1.25 a year, or two and one-half cents
106.
per week. This was cold comfort, however, to the domestic missionary who could make his estimate that the proportion of these contributions which went to domestic missions in the very year of which the journalist boasted amounted to an average payment of three-quarters of a cent a week for each Episcopalian, and in 1853 the per capita donation fell to a weekly average of five-eighths of
107,
a cent.

During this period, the Foreign Committee had four times experienced difficulties. In only one case was the shortage at all serious. Its receipts showed an almost uninterrupted increase from \$24,000 in 1840 to \$98,000 in 1859. While it is difficult to account for this disparity without giving some place to party spirit, it must be recognized that aside from any partisanship, the domestic policy was directly before the eyes of all, and could be seen to be a failure in many vital points. The Episcopal Church was late in undertaking missions, and was almost always the last of the important denominations to enter a given district. It had from the outset, therefore, to meet the rivalry of more firmly established denominations, already preempting the field. It failed to reach the masses of the people. The ratio of its growth to the increase of population
108.
was steadily declining.

106. Gospel Messenger XXI, p. 63.

107. Estimates made from figures in Journals of the General Conventions giving the numbers of communicants, and in Spirit of Missions, stating Domestic contributions.

108. McConnell, The American Episcopal Church, p.343.

Even a diocese as old as Ohio, which had been dropped from the missionary lists in 1851, found itself unable to support its churches unaided and was readmitted to missionary support in 1856. Whether the lack of sympathy and financial support from the church at large was the cause or the effect of the condition on the mission field, or whether the two reacted mutually upon each other did not alter the case. A partial failure was recognized whether it was recognized with explanations or with accusations. To remedy the failure, reconstruction of the board, readjustment of the administration, fervent and frequent appeals and explanations had been employed from time to time with little avail.

By 1853 a group of thinking men lead by Rev. Dr. W. A. Muhlenburg of New York had come to regard the failure of the Episcopal Church as originating in something more fundamental than the policy of this or that party or committee. The common people of America were indifferent to the church and the evil, as they saw it, lay in the church itself. The "Muhlenburg Memorial" which was submitted to the General Convention in 1853 was not primarily a missionary document, but its provisions included the missionary difficulty, and its acceptance would have affected a change in the position of the Episcopal Church upon the frontier, the extent of which it is impossible to estimate.

"The actual posture of our Church", the memorial affirmed, "with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day, presents to the minds of the under-



signed a subject of grave and anxious thought."¹¹⁸ After a resumé of the religious needs of the American people, the memorialists raised the earnest enquiry,—"Whether the Protestant Episcopal Church with her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed invariable modes of public worship and her traditional customs and usages is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts of the Lord in this land and age?" The petitioners believed that this question must be answered in the negative.

The memorial hinted briefly at three basic difficulties which, it maintained, prevented the fullest usefulness of the church. The Episcopate, it showed, was so restricted by conventional rules that it was powerless to act beyond a certain prescribed district, and even within that district was hemmed in by limitations. Compulsory uniformity in the modes of worship - beautiful and endeared to thousands as the liturgy might be - was, it was urged, an insurmountable barrier to many. Finally, the qualifications for the Episcopal ministry made it a closed order to all save a small number who were made eligible by a training, difficult to obtain, and of doubtful efficacy for much of the strenuous labor which the Church must perform. As a remedy for this last evil, the memorialists proposed the revival of the primitive diaconate. Such men might be permitted to engage

¹¹⁸ Muhlenburg Memorial, Journ. of Gen. Conv. 1853, p. 181.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold, crisp air. It was a relief after the warm, stuffy interior. I looked up at the sky, which was a pale, hazy blue. The sun was just starting to rise, casting a soft, golden glow over the landscape. The ground was covered in a layer of frost, and the trees were bare, their branches reaching out like skeletal fingers. I took a deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. It was a strange feeling, at once refreshing and unsettling. I knew I was in a new place, a place I had never before. The silence was deafening, broken only by the distant sound of a train or the occasional car horn. I felt a sense of isolation, a sense of being alone in a vast, empty world. But at the same time, I felt a sense of freedom, a sense of being able to start over, to begin a new life. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I knew I was nervous, but I also knew I was determined. I was going to make it, no matter what. I took another deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. It was a strange feeling, at once refreshing and unsettling. I knew I was in a new place, a place I had never before. The silence was deafening, broken only by the distant sound of a train or the occasional car horn. I felt a sense of isolation, a sense of being alone in a vast, empty world. But at the same time, I felt a sense of freedom, a sense of being able to start over, to begin a new life. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I knew I was nervous, but I also knew I was determined. I was going to make it, no matter what.

I walked towards the building, my steps crunching on the frost. The building was a large, multi-story structure with many windows. Some of the windows were lit up, while others were dark. I looked up at the building, feeling a sense of awe. It was a strange feeling, at once exciting and terrifying. I knew I was about to enter a new world, a world I had never before. The silence was deafening, broken only by the distant sound of a train or the occasional car horn. I felt a sense of isolation, a sense of being alone in a vast, empty world. But at the same time, I felt a sense of freedom, a sense of being able to start over, to begin a new life. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I knew I was nervous, but I also knew I was determined. I was going to make it, no matter what. I took another deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. It was a strange feeling, at once refreshing and unsettling. I knew I was in a new place, a place I had never before. The silence was deafening, broken only by the distant sound of a train or the occasional car horn. I felt a sense of isolation, a sense of being alone in a vast, empty world. But at the same time, I felt a sense of freedom, a sense of being able to start over, to begin a new life. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I knew I was nervous, but I also knew I was determined. I was going to make it, no matter what.

I opened the door and stepped inside. The interior was warm and inviting, a stark contrast to the cold outside. I looked around, taking in the sights and sounds of the new world. The silence was deafening, broken only by the distant sound of a train or the occasional car horn. I felt a sense of isolation, a sense of being alone in a vast, empty world. But at the same time, I felt a sense of freedom, a sense of being able to start over, to begin a new life. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I knew I was nervous, but I also knew I was determined. I was going to make it, no matter what. I took another deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. It was a strange feeling, at once refreshing and unsettling. I knew I was in a new place, a place I had never before. The silence was deafening, broken only by the distant sound of a train or the occasional car horn. I felt a sense of isolation, a sense of being alone in a vast, empty world. But at the same time, I felt a sense of freedom, a sense of being able to start over, to begin a new life. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I knew I was nervous, but I also knew I was determined. I was going to make it, no matter what.

in secular pursuits for their support while they were spreading the influence of the Church. In substance, the memorialists asked for Protestant Christendom the privilege of union with the Episcopal Church without the necessity of adopting its external forms. They called upon the Church to prove its claim to the title "Catholic" and lay aside denominational prejudices.

The reception of this document was worthy of its framers and their purpose. A committee of Bishops was given the responsibility of framing an answer to be submitted to the next General Convention in 1856. The report of the committee, however, fell far short of the hopes that had been entertained.¹¹⁹ It advocated alterations in the rubrics; it advised more general preaching upon a wider range of subjects; it counselled greater flexibility in the services, but the underlying concept of the Muhlenburg Memorial with its wholesome Catholicity remained unrealized. The memorial had touched the heart of the missionary difficulty, but the answer left to the Mission Church no alternative but to win its own salvation in spite of fundamental disadvantages.

A Jubilee in honor of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel held in 1853 roused a spirit of enthusiasm for the missionary cause,¹²⁰ but the Domestic Committee was again urging insufficient support by 1855, although

119 Journ. of Gen. Conv. 1856, p. 349 sq.

120 Spirit of Missions, 19; p. 19 (1854).

its actual receipts were steadily increasing. The Muhlenburg Memorial, failing in its real design, had helped to heal partisan antagonisms, already beginning to pass away in their most hostile aspects. The broad tolerant ideal which was taking form in the Episcopal Church was reflected in the General attitude toward the missionary cause. Moreover, the most delicate and dangerous period for the western mission was passed. Weak and dependent though the plant might be, it had taken root. Storms like those which could have utterly destroyed it in the early forties, could not do so by 1856, and even the troublous times following 1858 were not enough to threaten the downfall of the Episcopal Church in the Northwest Mission.

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